

MARCUS AURELIUS
ANTONINUS

Mael: THE *Short*
ROMAN EMPEROUR,

HIS

MEDITATIONS
Concerning HIMSELF:
Treating of a Natural Man's
Happinefs: Wherein it consisteth,
and of the Means to attain unto it.

Translated out of the Original GREEK;
with NOTES.

BY

MERIC CASAUBON, D.D. and Prebendary
of Christ-Church, Canterbury.

The Fifth Edition.

ECCLUS 18. 8.

*What is man, and whereto serveth he ?
What is his good, and what is his evil ?*

LONDON,

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TO THE
Most Reverend Father in GOD,

WILLIAM,

By the Divine Providence,

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
Primate of all *ENGLAND*, and
Metropolitane; One of the Lords
of His Majesty's most Honourable
Privy Council, and Chancellour
of the University of *Oxford*: My very
Honourable good Lord.

May it please your Grace,



Present here unto you
the Writings of a King.
I have presumed that
You would honour that
sacred Name even in
a Heathen so far, as to accept of the
Work, were it but for the Authour's
sake. For as it may well be esteemed
(in such an Age as this) none of Your
Grace's least commendations, that

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you

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

you are truly φιλοβασιλεύς, so I suppose Your self account it no small happiness, that You live to serve so Great and Gracious a King. But if the bare Name of a King would not serve, I could add, that they are the Writings of the Wisest, the Learned'st, the Best that ever was among Heathen Kings, if Historians may be credited. It is observed by some of them as a great argument of the Divine Providence, that such a Prince was provided against such times, when all things seemed to tend to ruine and confusion, and all humane ordinary means were thought too little to keep the Empire standing: the happy preservation whereof they generally ascribe to the singular and extraordinary Wisdom of this One; both in his Wars abroad; and in his Civil Government at home. Hence it is, that as of a man of whom there is no hope,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

hope, we commonly say, *Nè Salus quidem* : so was it used as a Proverb in after-ages by some of them, of a State irrecoverably gone, and declined, *Nè Marcus quidem*. As for his Learning, I could wish Your Grace had the leisure to peruse the Historian's own words, lest mine may seem too hyperbolical, and yet come far short of their expressions. What shall I say then of his Integrity, which is so commended by them, as it alone might well be thought sufficient without any other commendation, to make him Incomparable? And indeed I fear I have spoken but improperly, when I have mentioned his Wisdom, Learning and Integrity, as three several Excellencies, since that (as he himself professed, and they report of him) all the Learning he was ambitious of, was but to be Wise; and all the Wisdom, but to be Good. The Writings of such a one

I know Your Grace would respect, although he had been no King. And yet another reason, which hath made me the bolder to present them to Your Grace is, because in reading them You shall often reade Your self; and though perchance Your Modesty will not suffer You to make the application, yet others will, I am sure, that shall reade him; and I could not but have respect unto it. Upon these reasons I have presumed. If beyond reason; I can excuse my boldness no otherwise, but as I am,

Y O U R G R A C E ' S

Humbly devoted Chaplain,

Meric Casaubon.

Some few Testimonies concerning *Antoninus*, and these his Books.

Out of *SUIDAS*.

MARCUS the Roman Emperour, whom it is easier to admire in silence, than to praise, it being altogether impossible to equal his merits with any expression of words. For from his youth, having betaken himself to a composed and settled course of life, he was never seen to alter his countenance, through either fear, or pleasure. He most approved the Stoicks, and was their follower, not onely in their order and discipline of life, but also in their course and method of Learning. He therefore from his younger years, became so famous and illustrious, that *Adrianus* intended oftentimes to settle the Empire upon him: but having after a more legal way first settled it upon *Antoninus Pius*, he nevertheless reserved the succession of it unto *Marcus*. He thought good also by marriage to allie him unto *Antoninus Pius*, that so by succession of blood also he might come to the Empire. As for *Marcus*, he still continued in the same private course of life, and in the like subjection as other Romans did, and was in nothing altered by this adoption and new affinity. And when he

was come to the Empire; and had the absolute power in his hands, [Or, and was an absolute Monarch:] he was never known to doe any thing insolently, but as in matters of bounty he was always most free and exuberant; so in his government, he was no less meek and moderate.

Again out of the same.

Marcus Antoninus, a Roman Emperour, having deserved in all things the commendation of a perfect Philosopher, &c. He hath written concerning the course of his own life, twelve Books.

Athenagoras, a Philosopher of *Athens*, in his Apology for the Christians addressed unto *Marcus Antoninus*, and his Son *Commodus*, by way of humble Mediation and Intercession.

I Know well enough, that ye do not more surpass others in royal power and prudence, than in the exact perfection of all manner of Learning: so that even they that have singled out, and wholly applied themselves to any one part, have not attained to that happy perfection in that one, which ye have attained unto in all parts of Learning.

Jul. Capitol. in vita Marci.

ERat enim ipse tantæ tranquillitatis, ut vul-
tum nunquam mutaverit moerore vel gaudio,
Philoso-

Philosophiæ deditus Stoicæ, quam & per optimos quosque magistros acceperat, & undique ipse collegerat.

Vulcatius Gallicanus, in Avidio Cassio.

NEC defuere qui illum [*Cassium*, scil.] *Catilinam* vocarent; cum & ipse gauderet se ita appellari, addens futurum se *Sergium*, si *Dialogistam* occidisset, *Antoninum* hoc nomine significans; qui tantum enituit in Philosophia, ut iturus ad bellum *Marcommanicum*, timentibus cunctis ne quid fatale proveniret, rogatus sit, non adulatione sed serio, ut præcepta Philosophiæ ederet, &c.

Aurelius Victor, in Breviario.

Tantum *Marco* sapientiæ, innocentæ, ac literarum fuit, ut is *Marcommanos* cum filio *Commodo*, quem *Cæsarem* suffecerat, petiturus, Philosophorum obtestantium [*vi*] circumfunderetur, ne se expeditioni aut pugnæ prius committeret, quam sectarum ardua & occulta explavisset. Ita incerta belli (*in*) ejus salute doctrinæ studiis metuebantur; tantumque illo imperante florere artes bonæ, ut illam gloriam etiam temporum putem.

II. C. Exercit. in Bar. pag. 85.

Multa in hanc sententiam scribit *M. Antoninus* Imperator, in suis illis divinis libris, &c.

Idem

Idem ad ista Julii Capit. ridens res humanas, &c.
 Non ridere, sed rite, ac suo pretio æstimare res
 humanas solitus hic vir sapientissimus. *Hoc ille*
nos docet, divinis illis suis libris: velut cum ait in
11. non enim tempero mihi, quin mellitissimi
doctoris verba adscribam, &c.

Canterus, Nov. Lect. lib. 7. cap. 1.

M*arcus Aurelius Antoninus*, Imperator opti-
 mus, atque idem Philosophus tantus, ut
 hoc meruerit proprium cognomen, duodecim
 conscripsit *de officio suo* libros, maximæ pietatis,
 humanitatis, temperantiæ, eruditionis, aliarum
 rerum præclararum testes plenissimos; & cum
 quibus multorum Philosophorum operosa præ-
 cepta collata, merito sordere possint. Quocir-
 ca nemo, spero, male collocatum tempus puta-
 bit, quod in ejus operis lectionem studiose
 quondam impendimus, cum ex ea præter cæte-
 ra, fructum hunc retulerimus, quod ex multis
 viciosus locis duo saltem dextro, si dicere licet,
Æsculapio sanavimus. Ac primum sub finem
 primi libri ait, τὸ μὲν ὅτι παύον με ἀρετῶν ἐν ῥη-
 τορικῇ καὶ ποιητικῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι, repe-
 titur autem, ἅπὸ κοινῆς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἔλαβον,
 sed pro μὲν ego μὴ legendum affirmare non du-
 bito. Nam ideo mox subjungit hæc, ἐν οἷς
 ἵστας αὖ κατεργάζεσθαι, εἰ ἡ ἀρετὴ μὴ ἐμαυτὸν, ἐν ὁμοίᾳ ἀρετῇ.
 Quod si, inquit, in poeticis & orato-
 riis studiis foeliciter progressus fuisset; nemo me
 inde retrahere, & ad majora perducere facile po-
 tuisset. Quocirca Diis gratias ago, quod in
 studiis illis non nimis magnum feci profectum,
 nec

Lib. I.
num.
XIV.

nec ea nimis adamare coepi. Nec injuria, Imperator. Nam ut in homine privato tolerari fortassis queat, si natura jubente, suppetente otio, aspirante fortuna, jucunda Musarum studia paulo diutius colat, & amoenissimas syrenas, quæ tamen non dent sine mente sonum, attentius ac pertinacius auscultet: Ita non potest is, quem ad res maximas gerendas, ac totius Universi curam natura progeniit, alio cogitationes omnes suas, quam ad eum scopum dirigere, & ut illum assequatur quam citissime, non omnem operam dare. Sed jam ad alterum pergamus locum. In fine libri sexti, hanc adfert similitudinem, ἡ κυβερνήτης οἱ ναῦς ἢ ἰατρός οἱ κranken ἡ κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ πνὶ ἀν' αὐτοῦ; ἢ πῶς αὐτὸς ἐνεργεῖν τὸ πῶς ἐμπέσει σωτήριον, ἢ τὸ πῶς διαπραγματεύοις ὑμεινόν; Quemadmodum, inquit, si nautæ gubernatori, aut ægroti medico maledicerent, non facile alium auscultarent, nec vel ille vectorum salutem, vel hic ægrotantium sanitatem procurare posset: ita cum quis alius nunquam alteri bene & recte monenti parere consilium capit, is non temere vel rectum vitæ cursum tenere, vel post errorem in viam possit redire. Verum quod pene oblitus eram, * pro * There is
κυβερνήται & ἰατροί, legendum est κυβερνήται & ἰατροί. Quod cum non advertisset interpres, no need
of this.
The sense
is better,
as the
words are
printed.
See there,

Lib. VI.
num. I.

Many

Many more Testimonies might be added if need were: but of all late Writers I know not any that hath had more to doe with Antoninus than Barthi-
us in his Adversaria; I will not say to what pur-
pose, because I will not preoccupy the Reader's judg-
ment, the Book being every where to be had. In lieu of
it, I will add that here, which I know will be of ve-
ry good use to the Learned: and that is, a brief Col-
lection of those passages of Antoninus, (of all I will
not say, but of most I dare) that are any where cited
by Suidas; with reference to the particular Books and
places of Antoninus from whence they are taken:
whereby many places both in the Text of Suidas it self,
and in the late learned Interpreters Translation of the
said Suidas, may easily be corrected and supplied by
them that will take the pains to compare them.

Suidas, Ἀκινούτου Διογήτωρ, Anton. B. I.
n. III. Of Diognetus, &c.

Suidas, ἀκινούτου ἐν τῷ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου συγγρα-
φῆς· καὶ περιχίλια ἔτη βιώσας μέλλης καὶ ποταπῶν
μύρια, ὅμως μέμνησο, &c. Anton. B. II. n. XII. If
thou shouldst live three thousand or as many 10000. of
years, &c.

Suidas, ὑποταεῖν· εἰς τις αὐτὸ μόνον εἰδῆ, καὶ πᾶς
μεριμῶν τῆς ἐνοίας διαλέσσει τὰ ἐμφανιζόμενα αὐτῷ,
&c. Anton. B. II. n. X. As also what is it to dye,
and how if a man shall consider, &c.

Suidas, ἀσχαλῶ· ὁ μὴ ἐυχεμεῖν, &c. μὴ δὲ χρεῖς
ἀνάγκης λέγειν πρὸς πνα, ἢ ἐν ὁποσὴν χάσειν, ἔπ' ἀ-
σχολός εἰμι· μὴ δὲ διὰ τοῦτο τρέπε, &c. Anton. B. I.
n. IX. not often, nor without great necessity, &c.

Suidas, ἀψιγροῦ· εἰ ὃ ἰδιωτικὸν ὀψιπνεύμα, &c.
Anton. B. IX. n. III. But if thou desirest a more
popular, &c.

Suidas,

Suidas, ἀψίκοτος, ἐυμετάβλητος, &c. *Σωτηρὴν-
τηκὸν δὲ τῷ πρὸς τοῦ φίλου, καὶ μηδαμῷ ἀψίκοτον,*
Anton. B. I. n. XIII. *His care to preserve his
friends, &c.*

Suidas, Γεθός· γεθός· ἡ δυσσομία, &c. τῷ
γεθόσωνι μὴ ὀργίζε, Anton. B. V. n. XXII. *Be not
angry, &c.*

Suidas, Δαίμων ἡ ἐκείνη πύχη, &c. ἐδὲν ἀθλιώ-
τηρον τῷ πάντῃ κυκλῶ περιερχομένη, καὶ τὰ νέρδεν γῆς
ἱερῶν νύκτων, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῷ πλοστον, &c. An-
ton. B. II. n. II. *There is nothing more wretched
than that soul which in a kind of circuit compas-
seth all things, &c.*

Suidas, Ἐπταμβάνεσθαι· ἡλικῇ· μέμπεσθαι· μὴ ὁ-
νειδιστικῶς ἐπταμβάνεσθαι τῷ βαρβάρων ἢ σόλοικον, &c.
Anton. B. I. n. VII. *And not reproachfully to re-
prehend any other, &c.*

Suidas, εὐλυτός· Μάρετος Ἀντωνίνος φησὶν, ἔσθ
ἀναμάρτων τὸ ἀνακληπηκόν, ἐν τῷ βίῃ εὐλυτός, &c. An-
ton. B. III. n. V. *As one that expected, as it were,
nothing but the sound of the Trumpet, &c.*

Suidas, ἐυμάρετα· ἡ εὐκολία· λέγειν τῷ καὶ εὐχοσμία
ἐστὶ Μάρετος Ἀντωνίνου, Anton. B. IV. n. III. ἐν πᾶ-
σι ἐυμαρτία εὐθὺς γίνεσθαι· τῷ τῷ ἐυμαρτίαν ἐδὲν ἄλλο λέγει
ἡ εὐχοσμία, *By tranquillity I understand a decent or-
derly disposition and carriage, &c.*

Suidas, Ὀρθὸς λέγειν καὶ ὀρθός· Μάρετος, ὀρθὸς
τῷ καὶ μὴ ὀρθόμενον, Anton. B. III. n. VI. *Rather
like one that is streight of himself, &c.*

Suidas, Ὡσιῶς, τὸ κατὰ βίαν καὶ ὠδισμῷ· μηδὲ ὠσι-
ῶς καὶ κατὰ βίαν πρὸς θάνατον ἔχειν, Anton. B. IX.
n. III. *It is therefore the part of a wise man in
matter of death, not in any wise to carry him-
self, &c.*

Suidas,

Suidas, ἰρτυροπέτῳ, παιδία πε, &c. μηδὲ ἰρτυροπέτῳ, μηδὲ πεὶ τὰ παιῦτα ἐπὶ ἡδύ, Anton. B. I. n. III. Not to keep Quails for the game, &c.

Suidas, Παράπνυμα, χαρὼν, &c. εἰ ἢ ἰδιωτικὸν παράπνυμα, Anton. B. IX. n. III. See before in αΨ-ωρδῳ.

Suidas, θεωπᾶνθῳ ὅπ θεωπᾶνθῳ λόγῳαι καὶ βε-
νιπᾶνθῳ, καὶ παλμυλάειθῳ, καὶ σκυλάειθῳ ὅθεν Μάρκος
Ἀντωνίνῳ, Anton. B. I. n. II.

Suidas, θεωσοχῆ, ἀκριβὴς ὅπμ. &c. εἰ ἰδίῳ σῶμα-
τῳ ὀπμολεικῶς δεῖ ἔχειν ἐμμέβως ἔτε ὡς ἂν πε
φιλόζῳθῳ, ἔτε πρὸς καμωπομὸν, &c. Anton. B. I.
n. XIII. His care of his body within bounds and
measure, &c.

Suidas, Συμβαίνοντα, συμφωνῶντα ὅ τὸ συμβαίνειν
λίζομεν, ὡς τοῦ πετραγώνος λίθους ἐν τοῖς τεύχεσι, &c.
Anton. B. V. n. VIII. As of square stones, when
either in walls, &c.

Suidas, Τερατεία, ἰδιωλογία ὅ παραδοξολογία
τοῖς ὑπὸ τῇ τερατῶμεθῶν, καὶ ρήτων περὶ ἐκφῶν, &c.
Anton. B. I. n. III. Those things which are spoken
by such as take upon them, &c.

Suidas, τὸ παρὸν εὖ τίθωδς. There is no more
now in *Suidas* than so: which certainly is out
of Antoninus, B. VI. n. II. ἀρεκεῖ ἐν καὶ ὅτι ταύτης τὸ
παρὸν εὖ δέδς. That thou dost well acquit thy self of
that present duty.

Divers other words there be, as καλαμῶσεις, ἐν-
σωεῖδηςθῳ, &c. in the exposition of which, I am
persuaded that *Suidas* had a reference to Anto-
ninus; yet because he neither cites the passage,
nor names the Authour, I would not bring such
in this number.

TO THE READER.

THis Book (of what worth I say not; but more men, I fear, will commend it, than will know how to make use of it:) after it had for so many ages undeservedly been buried in darkness, is now first, if I may not say brought unto light, yet at least made common and intelligible. Twice, it is true, within these 80. years it hath already been set out in its own Original Greek: and set out both times with a Latin Translation, much revised and corrected in the latter Edition. Yet such are those Editions both of them, so confused, and so corrupt; and such is the Translation in both the Editions, so imperfect often, and impertinent, that I say not so absurd and erroneous; as that it is not easie to determine, whether it be harder to understand *Antoninus* his meaning by the Greek that is printed; or the Greek that is printed, by the Translation of it: but that of both we may boldly and peremptorily conclude; of the one, that it cannot possibly be understood, as it is printed; and of the other, that it would be more for the credit of the Authour (a man otherwise acknowledged very learned:) if we did take no notice of it at all. I must add besides, that there hath been many years ago a certain Book, first written in Spanish, and since translated into Italian, French, English, and how many Tongues more I know not; pretended by the Title to be a Translation of *M. Aurel. Antoninus*. But that the Authour of it, (a learned Spaniard)

To the Reader.

Spaniard) was in good earnest, I could never have believed, and would have thought I had done him great wrong to say it, had not I read his Prefaces, where he so earnestly by reasons, such as he could find, goes about to make his Title good, and as earnestly expostulates with men for their incredulity, who did not take his reasons for current and clear ones. I cannot but commend his intention, which certainly was to doe good; but this way I much abhor, and wonder as much at his judgment and discretion. Sure I am that by his whole Book it doth not appear, that he had ever so much as seen that himself, which this Title doth promise unto others, *M. Aurel. Antoninus* his Book: which either must be this here, or none. For besides this there is not any other, that ever was extant. For as for those other Writings of his, which either he himself in his second Book, or *Capitolinus* in his Life, or *Nicephorus* in his Ecclesiastical History (*lib. 3. cap. 31.*) or any others mention, they mention them as Books written and composed by him, but not as ever publickly extant; which if they had, *Suidas*, or whosoever they be, whom *Suidas* in his Dictionary, in the word *Marcus*, doth alledge, would not have omitted them. Thus much I thought good here briefly to acquaint the Reader with; who, if he please, may receive farther satisfaction by the ensuing Discourse.

A DIS-

A DISCOURSE,

By way of

PREFACE:

CONCERNING

The Use and Subject of this Book:

The Authour *ANTONINVS*; And
this Translation of it.

OF all the several Sects and Professions of Philosophers that ever were known or heard of in the World, there was not any that ever did hold maxims and opinions so contrary to flesh and blood; never any that was judged even by the learned Heathens themselves (witness learned Plutarch, who hath written a whole Book of this very subject;) so grossly and manifestly to oppose nature, and to overthrow all grounds and principles of humane sense or reason, as the Stoicks did. And yet of all Sects and Professions, never any that either with the best was of more credit, or with the vulgar more plausible. So plausible and popular, that there have been times, when the number of the Stoicks alone, did exceed all the followers and professors of all other Sects being put together. A barbam pe-thing the more to be wondred at, because that for that very reason, Christianity (though nothing so harsh in comparison:) hath ever by them of con-

Lucian. in
Hermotimo.
& Is. C. ad
ista Pers.
Si Cynico
tulan, &c.
P. 165.

trary professions, been much opposed and contradicted. Of this a main reason I conceive to have been, that the Stoicks, though by their particular Tenets and Opinions, they might seem of all others most to oppose nature, yet that which they proposed unto themselves as the end of their lives, and the ground of all their Philosophy; that which they did ever sound in the ears of men and press them with, was, τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν,

B. V. n. IX. to live according to nature. Μίμνησκον ὅτι ἡ φιλοσοφία μὴτα δίδει, ἀ κατὰ φύσιν σου θέλει. Remember that Philosophy requireth no more at thy hands, than what thine own nature doth require, and leads thee unto; saith Antoninus:

B. VI. n. XXV.

πῶς αὐτόν ἐστι μὴ ἐπιβέβαιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁρμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ συμβαίνοντα; What a cruel and unnatural thing would it be to restrain men from the pursuit of those things which they conceive to themselves and their own nature, most proper and convenient?

See Ant. B. V. n. I.

So they all speak, and that which they all generally did most beat upon, was this. Now whether the particular means which they did commend and propose, were indeed proper and natural unto that end, unto which they did propose them, I will not here dispute. For the end, whether true or pretended, is that which men usually take most notice of. As for the means, how direct or indirect to that end, is not so easily discerned. Their end therefore, being of it self so plausible and acceptable, I conceive it to have been the thing especially, which made their doctrine and Philosophy so too. And I am as verily persuaded, that a conceit and opinion many Christians

The PREFACE.

3

Christians have, that most of those things which are reproved in them as sins and vices, agree best with their natures; and many, if not most, of those duties that are required of them as Christians, are against, not depraved and corrupted ones, which is not properly nature, but absolutely against the nature of man: and in general, that divine law and humane sense and reason, are things contrary and opposite; is that as much as any thing that doth discourage them from the intent, practice, and study of those things which they by their profession cannot but acknowledge themselves bound unto. For it is not more natural to a man to love his own flesh, (which the Apostle witnesseth, no man ever hated:) than to love nature, and what he conceives to be according to nature. Though it be not so, yet if he conceive it so, he affects it naturally, and in time it becomes natural unto him indeed.

Now concerning Christianity, I know it is the opinion of many, that, matters of faith and the Sacraments onely excepted, there is nothing in the whole Gospel which is not *juris naturalis*, and most agreeable to humane reason. For my part, as I would not take upon me to maintain their opinion precisely true in all points and circumstances; so I must needs say, if we esteem that natural, which natural men of best account, by the mere strength of humane reason, have taught and taken upon them to maintain as just and reasonable, I know not any Evangelical precept, or duty belonging to a Christian's practice, (even the harshest, and those that seem to ordinary men most contrary to flesh and blood, not excepted,) but

See Hugo
Grot. de
jure Belli
ac P. lib. I.
cap. 2.
sect. 6.

The PREFACE.

upon due search and examination, will prove of that nature. I say, upon due search and examination. Many have touched upon this point, rather to shew the way unto others, than by way of undertaking themselves: among others, of late, the best able that I know now living to perform this, or any thing else that belongs to a general and complete Scholar, Mr. Hugo Grotius, in his collection and Translation of the Greek sentences. There be too, I know, that have undertaken much in this kind: but of whom (as many as I have seen:) I may boldly say (and the more boldly because I name none:) that in many respects they have performed but little. I wish it with all my heart, that some able and judicious man would think it worth his labour and pains: were it but to this end, that the harshness which many Christians (though Christians, yet flesh and blood they will say) do conceive to be in many divine precepts, might be mollified and lessened; when it shall appear that the very same things did not seem harsh to them, who (in comparison of them whom God hath called by more special and supernatural illumination,) were nothing but flesh and blood. That they who as men can so hardly prevail upon themselves to strive against nature, and to yield to those things which they conceive against all humane sense and reason; might be of another mind, when they shall see that mere natural men, who in humane sense and reason, of all others most excelled, have both esteemed themselves bound by nature, and others most unnatural that refused, to follow or to forbear those very things. ut quivis arbitretur (saith Minutius F. though upon another occasion) aut nunc Christianos philosophos

The PREFACE.

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losophos esse, aut philosophos fuisse jam tunc
 Christianos. But not to prosecute this general any
 farther at this present: Of all Books in this kind
 that ever have been written by any Heathens; I
 know not any which either in regard of it self, (for
 the bulk thereof;) or in regard of the Author, de-
 serves more respect, than this of Marcus Antoninus;
 son by nature of Annius Verus (a man of great
 quality in Rome) and adopted son of Antoninus
 Pius, a Roman Emperour, whom also he succeeded
 in the Empire about the year of our Lord 162, or
 163. The chiefest subject of the Book is, the vanity of
 the world and all worldly things, as wealth, honour,
 life, &c. and the end and scope of it, to teach a man
 how to submit himself wholly to Gods providence,
 and to live content and thankfull in what estate
 or calling soever. But the Book, I doubt not, will
 sufficiently commend it self, to them who shall be
 able to reade it with any judgment, and to com-
 pare it with others of the same subject, written
 either by Christians or Heathens: so that it be
 remembered that it was written by a Heathen:
 that is, one that had no other knowledge of any
 God, than such as was grounded upon natural
 reasons merely; no certain assurance of the Im-
 mortality of the soul; no other light where-
 by he might know what was good or bad, right
 or wrong, but the light of nature, and hu-
 mane reason. Which though it were, (such as
 it was) from God the Authour of Nature (as
 what is not?) yet in regard it was not by
 any revelation, or any other extraordinary
 means, is therefore called humane and natural.
 As for the Book then, to let it speak for it self.

In the Author of it two main things I conceive very considerable, which because by the knowledge of them the use and benefit of the Book may be much greater than otherwise it would be, I would not have any ignorant of. The things are these: first, that he was a very great man, one that had good experience of what he spake; and, secondly, that he was a very good man, one that lived as he did write, and exactly (as far was possible to a natural man,) performed what he exhorted others unto.

For the first, I have always thought that it was not without God's especial Providence, that of all them that once were the peculiar people of God, he was chosen to write against the vain pleasures and delights of this world, who of all the rest had had most knowledge and experience of those things that he did write against. A poor man may from his heart perchance declaim against the vanity of wealth and pleasures; and a private man, against the vanity of honour, and greatness; both of them it may be from their hearts, but it is ever suspicious, and therefore of less power and efficacy. Suspicious I mean, that they are angry with that they would fain, and cannot get themselves; yea, and perchance inveigh of purpose, that by inveighing (an ordinary thing in the world) they may get that which they inveigh against. But at the best, that they make a virtue of necessity; that they speak against they know not what; and though they mean sincerely, as now; yet if they were in place themselves, God knows what mind they would be of. And the event, indeed, doth justify these

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these suspicions but too often. But when a man shall hear such a one as Solomon was, speaking in this manner: I said in my heart, go to now, I will prove thee with mirth, &c. I made me great works, &c. I made me gardens and orchards, &c. I made me pools of water, &c. I got me servants and maidens, &c. I gathered me silver and gold, &c. So I was great, &c. And whatsoever my eyes desired, I kept not from them, I withheld not my heart from any joy, &c. Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to doe; and behold, all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the Sun: Is there any man so bewitched, and besotted with worldly wealth and pleasure, whom such a confession from such an one, will not move, for a while at the least? And if this of Solomon, who at first had received such a measure of Grace and illumination from God, that it may be more justly wondered, that he ever did any thing contrary to this profession, than that he should profess so much; how much more should that confession of Antoninus move us, dilated here by him, and enlarged into XII. Books, and briefly expressed and summed up in these words of his eighth Book, *πειρασαι με πρόσα πλανητής, ἵδμεν εὐδεις ἢ ἐν ζῆν* *ἢ ἐν Συναρισμοῖς, ἢ ἐν πλείν, ἢ ἐν δόξῃ, ἢ ἐν ἐσπλάσσει, ἵδμεν;* Thou hast already had sufficient experience, that of those many things about which thou hast hitherto wandered, thou couldst not find happiness in any of them: not in syllogisms, and Logical subtilties; not in wealth, not in honour and reputation; not

B.VIII.n.A

in pleasure : in none of all these. Of Antoninus I say, a mere Heathen guided by humane reason onely, Antoninus, a man for worldly state and greatness far of greater than Salomon, as Lord and Master of many of our great Kingdoms, than Salomon was of great towns in all this Kingdom; Antoninus, known for his goodness and wisdom, by all men lasting his life, had in that honour and reputation, more of man either before him was, or (that we know of) ever after him. But his goodness is the second consideration. It hath never been his complaint of all ages. There hath not been store enough of men that could speak well, and give good instructions. But great want of them that either could, or so much as endeavour to do as they spoke, and taught others to do. And what is the good that such can do? The onely good I can conceive, is, that they persuade man as much as in them lies (and abate every effectually about with him) to do as they speak. That all this that we call vertue and godliness, so much spoken of amongst men, are but words and empty sounds, that there is no such thing really existent indeed, as piety and justice, but that it is a mere figment of some cunning jugglers and impostours, or at the best a pretty device of Law-makers and Founders of Commonwealths, to keep silly people in awe and fear. Can any man think otherwise? If otherwise he be not better grounded: that shall hear them speak, and then look upon their actions? Such therefore in my

judgment

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judgment might deserve far more thanks if they did forbear, and would rather lose the commendations of either a smooth tongue, or a ready pen, than to incur both the just suspicion of being Atheists themselves, and the certain guilt and crime of having made many others so. Be it therefore spoken to the immortal praise and commendation of this famous Antoninus, that as he did write, so he did live. Never did Writers so conspire to give all possible testimony of goodness, uprightness, innocence, and whatsoever could among Heathens be most commendable, as they have done to commend this One. They commend him, not as the best Prince only, but absolutely as the best man, and best Philosopher that ever was. And it is his proper commendation, that being so commended, he is commended without exception. If any thing hath ever been talked against him, the Historians mention it but as a talk: not credited by them, nor by any that ever were of any credit. Thus the Heathens of Him. The Christians had but little reason to speak well of him, as having suffered many cruel persecutions under him: And in this case how free they have been (some of them,) even with all extremity to inveigh against other Emperours, though much commended and magnified by the Heathens, is not unknown. Yet I find not that ever they could fasten any thing upon our Antoninus, whereby to stain his reputation; that ever they did so much as object unto him, those many and grievous persecutions, which they did suffer under him, as his own act, or charge him therefore of cruelty. And though it be granted, that Antoninus gave way to those persecutions, which certainly he could not altogether

they be ignorant of; yet to them that know the state of those days, it can be no wonder, that such a thing should happen in the days of such a Prince as Antoninus was. When Christians, besides the infamy of many horrible crimes, as common incest, homicide, &c. which (such was the power of calumny:) lay upon them; were generally accounted no better than mere Atheists and Epicures. For indeed, Atheists, Christians and Epicures, were commonly joined together as names, if not of the same signification, yet of very great affinity, and hardly distinguished by the vulgar, but that of the three, the Christian was thought the worst. Let it be then Antoninus his commendation, the greater and the more incredible in this age, the more the age is full of dissimulation and hypocrisie, that he was not (as now they rightly style themselves, whom the common received Names of Christians, and Protestants will not content, such is their Zeal and Purity, they think:) a Professour; as he spake and wrote, so he did. His meditations were his actions. His deeds (so still you remember Him a man and a Heathen) did agree with his sentences. "Ὁν ἔμεγαλύνει, ἀλλ' ἔξ ἀγαστικῆς πίστεως ἡρετῆς, πρεσβυλόν, &c. And again, αἰεὶ ἀλυστὸς ἀγαθῆς ἀνὴρ ὡς, καὶ ὑπὸν μεγαλύνειν ἔμεγα, &c. That he did not onely as he spake, but what he did, he did it out of mere love to vertue. That it was a clear case, which no man doubted of, that he was in very deed a good man: so incapable was he of any dissimulation. So Dio of him, and so others.

And now that I have spoken so much of Antoninus his life, it will not be amiss to say somewhat of

that

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that surname, the Philosopher, which by many hath been given and appropriated to this Emperour. Inſomuch as Xylander, though he found it not at all (as he confeſſeth) in his MS. yet thought it fitting to add it in the Title and Inſcription of theſe Books, as his proper and uſual Cognomen. But ſure enough it is (as hath been obſerved by learned men,) that this Title of Philoſopher was never taken by Antoninus himſelf, nor given unto him by others, as a proper ſurname, as his father Antoninus was ſurnamed P I U S, and others otherwiſe, but onely as a deſerved Elogium and teſtimony, at the diſcretion of them that either did ſpeak unto Him, or wrote of Him. And ſo indeed it was very commonly, and even by thoſe learned and pious Chriſtians, that directed Apologies unto Him for the Chriſtians, adſcribed unto him as an Elogium and Teſtimony: juſt indeed and deſerved, but arbitrary, and not proper unto Him by way of a Cognomen or ſurname. But, an Elogium and Teſtimony of what think you? of his great learning (as we take learning now;) and progreſs in the Sciences? Reade him himſelf, and judge how much he would have eſteemed ſuch a commendation. A man would think, if Heathens, through their ignorance of the true God, and of his truth, had been miſtaken in the true application of words of praiſe or diſpraiſe; that we, by the help of a better light, might have rectified them, and not followed their examples. But now it is fallen out quite contrary. Who they be that the holy Scriptures uſually call wiſe; who they, to whom they adſcribe knowledge and underſtanding; and who they are, who by them are termed fools,

fools, blind, ignorant, and the like, is not unknown unto any. So spake the ancient Heathens, when they would speak properly. He that was an honest, upright, virtuous man, without dissimulation and hypocrisie, though he were such a one as had never been brought up to learning; yea, such a one as could neither reade nor write, was their σοφιστής, ἄνθρωπος διδασκαλίας, ἁγιόγραφος, their good Scholar, their learned Man, their Philosopher. His life and his actions were all that they stood upon; though indeed they were of opinion, that it was very difficult, if not altogether impossible, for a man to come to the knowledge of that which is right and wrong, just or unjust, and by consequent of true vertue, without much study and pains taking. On the other side, an unjust man, a cunning, an intemperate; in general, a vitious man, was their ἀνίσχυρος, ἀμαθής, ἄσχετος, their Illiterate, their Ignorant, their Idiot. The most ordinary distinction was, of an Idiot, and a Philosopher. Neither was this the proper language of the Stoicks (which Sect our Antoninus was much addicted unto,) but of the Platonicks likewise, and of most others. But the main and principal property, whereby they did distinguish a Philosopher from all other men, was that he did all things ὑπὸ τῆς ἀναγκαίας, with a relation unto God and his Providence; ἀποφύγετο τὸν θεόν, ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν, as Epictetus (in Arrianus) speaketh. This you shall find that Antoninus doth much stand upon. For indeed they did esteem it the very character and essential note of a Philosopher. Inasmuch as that if any man seemed never so just and upright in his actions, yet if it were not ὑπὸ τῆς ἀναγκαίας, with reference to God,

and

and our dependences on Him, as the Supreme Cause and Moderatour of all things: they esteemed him little more than a mere Idiot.

Much more I had here to say concerning this matter, both in defence of Plato (whose name hath much suffered through some mens ignorance of the true sense of this word Philosophus) and for the clearing of many obscure places of Antoninus, which otherwise I think will hardly be understood. But because I fear it would make the body of this Preface to swell too much beyond the proportion of the rest, and that in the Notes it will come in well enough, I will reserve it unto that place.

See notes
upon B.
VIII. a. L.

Now for this my Translation of Antoninus, which is the last thing we are to speak of, were it so that this Book were as commonly known, and as easie to be got as many others of less worth are, I should be well content to spare the labour of this account, and refer it wholly to the judgment of the Reader. But forasmuch as by my own experience I know the Book, (though twice printed,) to be so rare, that it is not to be found in many private studies, and sometimes not for many years together, in any Book-seller's shop: (I was beholding to learned Mr. Holdsworth's well-furnished Library for the first sight, and long use of the latter and better Edition; as also for the use of many other Books:) and that the Latin Translation of Xylander hath been commended and approved by the most learned (doctissimus, eruditissimus Interpret; vir profundæ eruditionis, &c. So they speak of him:) I do think it very necessary, both that I should give the Reader that satisfaction, that I do not *actum agere*, and doe my self that right, that whereas I take upon me

to translate Marcus Aurel. Antoninus Augustus, I may not be suspected to have translated Gulielmus Xylander Augustanus. Indeed what might be expected from Xylander's Interpretation, may be collected by his own ingenuous intimation, both in his Preface, where he is fain to apologize for it, that he durst undertake it, professing that in quibusdam he was constrained, *divinare & audacter à codice Græco aut usu communi recedere*; as also in his Notes, where his words are, *Sunt autem passim permulta, in quibus ariolo magis, quam interprete opus sit*: And that he doth so indeed, it doth but too manifestly appear by his Translation. For I dare boldly say, and doe him no wrong, that sometimes in a whole page, he hath not two lines of Antoninus his sense and meaning. Besides the liberty that he takes unto himself to supply of his own head, to leave out sometimes words, sometimes lines, to change and alter at his will; without any reason given for it, or so much as making the Reader acquainted with it. And whereas Xylander puts the fault of all this upon the corruption and imperfection of the Copy, I cannot altogether allow of it. For as I confess the faults and corruptions of it, if in the printed copies they have not been made more; than they were in the Manuscript (which I do not believe:) to be many; so of those many, I know none or very few, that may be termed incurable. And as for the *Lacunæ* of it, I hope that they neither in this Translation (and what ancient Book is there almost but hath some?) will not be found many. As for any greater hiatus, as perchance of many leaves together, if any shall suspect the Copy to have been defective

in that kind, the method and composition of the Book being such, that it doth for the most part consist of certain Aphorisms and Canons, (they called them *κατάλογος*, *στοιχια*, *δογματα*, *νομοθεσις* *λόγος*, &c.) without any certain order or series, either in regard of the whole (but that they all tend to one purpose;) or in regard of the parts themselves: as it is not possible by the matter it self for any man to determine how much more in this kind may have been written by Antoninus; so if there were never so much extant, yet how this that we have here, could thereby be made more perfect than it is, I do not see. Their conceit, who by reason of this independance of matters, would have the whole Book to be but excerpts and *Συνοψις* of a greater and better compacted Work; there being so many other books both sacred and profane written in the same kind; and Epictetus (the Pattern of all latter Stoicks:) his *Enchiridion* among the rest; It can at the best pass but for a mere conceit; and needs I hope no other refutation.

To tell you then what I have done, and that you may be the better satisfied that I except not against Xylander's Interpretation without cause, it remains that for a Specimen I produce some few passages, by which it will be easie for any to judge of the rest. But first I must faithfully profess that my purpose in all this is not any ways to detract, either from Xylander himself, or from the judgment of those learned men, by whom he hath been highly commended, but rather to follow (after my best ability:) Xylander's own example; whom for his great pains, and labour in his lifetime to further and promote learning I acknowledge

ledge to have deserved much honour and respect from all that love learning. I might add that I shall deal with him more ingenuously too, than some others have done, who take upon them to correct some corrupt places of Antoninus, which Xylander in his Translation, whereof they take no notice, had already plainly corrected. But now to Antoninus.

Where Antoninus in his first Book saith, that he learned by his Father's example, that it is not impossible for a man that lives at the Court, *ἵνα μὴ ἰδιώτης συζῆται ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο* (reade *οὐ διὰ τὸ* *μὴ διὰ τοῦτο* *ταπεινότητος ἢ παχυμέλειαν* *καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ κοινωνικῶς δεῦναι δύναιτο*. To live almost a private man's life, for matter of worldly pomp and magnificence, and all outward shew and appearance (expressed by him before more at large:) and yet for all that not to be a whit the more base and pusillanimous, or less stout or resolute in any publick affairs that shall require the power and authority of a Prince and Commander: he translates it, *Sed licere proximum privato homini habitum sumere: mo vero eum splendorem, eos qui principes rempublicam gerere velint, demissiores, segioresque efficere.* Which neither of it self affords any tolerable sense, and is as wide from Antoninus his meaning, as any thing that could have been conceived.

Bas. Edit. In the eighth Book Antoninus saith that ἡ κοινὴ φύσις — ἡ τοῦ καὶ ἀξίας τοῦ μετρίου καὶ τοῦ αἰνῶ, ἐρεχθίας, συμβαίνου, ἐργασίου ποιεῖται. The common Nature (which was one of the *Synonyma's* by which the Stoicks did express God,

doth distribute all things in equality, as matter, form, duration, and the like; and then adds, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡ μὴ εἶναι τὸ ὁμοῦς τὸ ἐν ἴσιν εὐχρηστικὸν ὅτι παντὶ; This equality thou shalt observe, not if absolutely thou shalt go to compare all the particulars of any one thing by themselves, with the particulars of another by themselves: ἀλλὰ εἰ συλλήβητον τὰ πάντα ὅσδε, (it is printed, τὰ πάντα ὅς δ', &c.) πρὸς ἀδελφὰ τὰ ὅς ἐτέρους; that is, but if thou consider all the particulars of any one thing together, with all the particulars of another together likewise. His meaning is, that every natural thing in his own kind, that is, after a Geometrical, though not Arithmetical equality, is equally perfect: an Ant as perfect in her quantity, as an Elephant and Whale, so great and vast, in theirs; as strong for her little proportion of body, and other circumstances of her nature, and as long lived, as any other creature; and so of all other things, if all things be well considered. And this doth not onely extend to things of several kinds and natures; but even to those that are of the same. It is a very pleasant and usefull speculation, as it may be prosecuted and applied, and it is very fully expressed by Antoninus. After this (as his manner is,) abruptly passing to another matter, ἀναμνηστικὸν ἐκ ἑξῆς, saith he to himself (for so must the words be distinguished, which in the Greek are vitiously joined and confounded — τὰ πάντα ὅς δ' πρὸς ἀδελφὰ τὰ ὅς ἐτέρους ἀναμνηστικὸν ἐξῆς ἀλλὰ, &c.) by way of objection, and then immediately answers, ἀλλὰ ὕβριν ἀνείργειν ἑξῆς, ἀλλὰ ἡδονῶν καὶ πόνων καὶ δυσχερῶν, ἀλλὰ ὅς ὁμοῦς ἑξῆς ἑξῆς, &c. Thou hast no time

time nor opportunity to reade Books; What then? Hast thou not time and opportunity to practise thy self, to forbear contempt and contumely: (*towards thy self, I understand it; that is, thy soul according to Plato's doctrine, followed and expressed by Antoninus, in those words at the beginning of the second Book, ὑβριζε, ὑβριζε ἑαυτὸν, ὧς θυγῇ, &c. And again at the end of the same Book more at large:*) to resist and overcome all pains and pleasures, to contemn honour and vain-glory, and not onely to be angry with those whom thou dost find unsensible, and unthankfull rowards thee, but also to have a care of them still, and of their welfare? Confer this with other like passages of Antoninus, both for form and matter, and you will think that nothing could be plainer. All this is expressed by Xylander: Considera autem æqualitatem eam inventurum te si singulas res examines; sin unam cum universis conferas, non item. And then he leaves a blank, and begins a new line; Atqui licet libidinem arce-re, voluptatibusque & doloribus superiorem esse, itemque gloriola: licet etiam stupidis & ingratis non irasci.

See B. V.
n. V. B.
VII. n.
xxxviii.

B. VII. n.
xviii.
Bas. edit.
234.

* See note
2. upon
B. II.

Some three or four pages from the beginning of the seventh Book, τὸ ἐπιτολεῖν τὰ πρῶτα (saith Antoninus:) λίαν ὀργῇ εἶναι, ὅταν πολλὰς ἐκπαρτήσῃς ἢ πείρασμά: ἢ [γὰρ εἰ] τὸ τελευτᾶν ἀποβῆναι, ὡς ὅλως ἐξελθῶμαι μὴ διώσθαι αὐτῷ γὰρ τέτοιον * ὀργαλεῖν περὶ, ὅπ' παρὰ τὴν λόγον εἰργάσῃ ἢ ἑλπίσιν, ποτὶ τὰ αἰσχροτάνα. [γὰρ τῷ μὴ αἰσχροτάνῳ] εἰχρόσθαι, τίς ἐπ' οὗ ζῆν αἰτία; That an angry countenance, (saith he) is much against nature, hence mayst thou gather, be-
cause

cause oftentimes it is the proper countenance of them that are at the point of death; [*and a fore-runner of death as it were.*] But were it so that all anger and passion were so thoroughly quenched in thee, that it were altogether impossible that it should be kindled any more, yet [*herein must not thou rest satisfied, but*] farther endeavour by good consequence of true ratiocination perfectly to conceive and understand, that all anger and passion is against reason: For if thou shalt not be sensible of thine innocency, as it is innocency; if that also shall be gone from thee, [*the comfort of a good conscience, that thou dost all things to thy utmost power according to Reason:*] what shouldst thou desire to live any longer for? *All this is by* Xylander *contracted into these few words;* Irati vultus omnino est contra naturam, quando sapius immoriendi sit pretextus, aut ad extremum extinctus est, ut omnino inflammari non potuerit. Hoc ipso intelligere labora, iram a ratione esse alienam. Nam si etiam sensus peccati nullus erit, quæ erit vivendi causa?

See B. III.
n. vij. x.
xij.
B. VIII.
n. ij.
Page 25r.

At the end of the fifth Book, Antoninus having spoken of some vanities, adds, ἀνδρῶν, ἐπιδεδῶται πάντα ἡν; καὶ ἄλλα τέρας θεωρεῖσθαι. O man, hast thou forgotten what things these are? yea, but howsoever, they are things that other men much care for; saith he, by way of objection; then answers, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ οὐ μωροῦς γένει; ἐξουδυνῶ ποῖ. Will thou therefore be a fool also? it is enough that thou hast already been one so long. And then passes to another matter: Οὐδὲν περὶ καταληφθεὶς, εὐμοιῶν ἀνδρῶν.

τὸ δὲ εὖμους, ἀγαθὸν μέρος σπανὲς ἀπονεύμας· ἀγαθαὶ δὲ μοῖραι, ἀγαθαὶ ἔσται ψυχῆς, ἀγαθαὶ ὄρματα, ἀγαθαὶ ἀρχαί. Let death surprise a man where and when it will: It is more than it can doe to make him therefore unhappy. He is an happy man, who (*in his life-time*) dealeth unto himself a happy lot and portion. A happy lot and portion is; good inclinations of the soul, good motions and desires, good actions. This passage cannot well be translated, because we have never a word answerable to the Greek εὖμους, which Antoninus here elegantly and acutely plays upon, which may signifie either in general a happy man, or in particular one that dies happily: but properly signifies one that hath obtained a good part or portion. Howsoever, to render it as it may be rendered, the sense is very tolerable. Now Xylander having found the words somewhat confused, and incorrect, (for it is printed, ἐξουμῶν πρὸς ὀνυδῆπλε καλαὶ φθίσις εὖμοις ἀνδρῶν τὸ ὅ, &c.) translates them: Propterea tu quoque stultus es factus? Aliquando utcunque relictus, factus sum foelix: Foelicitas autem est, &c.

At the end of the seventh Book, Antoninus his words are, ἢ τὸ ὅλν φύσις ὅτι τὴν κοσμοποιίαν ἀρμῶσιν ἰδὼν ὃ ἦτοι πᾶν τὸ μνόμενον καὶ ἐπακολούθησι γίνεσθαι, ἢ τὰ λογικά [it is printed, ἢ ἀλόγιστα] καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα δεῖν, ἐφ' ᾧ ποιεῖται ἰδίαν ὁρμῶν τὸ τὸ κόσμῳ ἡγεμονικόν· εἰς πολλὰ σε γαλλωότερον ποιήσει τὸ το μνημονόμεινον. That the place must be so read and corrected (if any man make a question of it:) I will be judged by Antoninus himself; B. VI. num. 39. B. VII. n. 44. not to mention others, as

Arrianus Lib. 1. cap. 12. Ven. Edit. pag. 21.

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The nature of the Universe, saith he, did once certainly deliberate and resolve upon the creation of the world. Whatsoever therefore, since that, is, and happens in the world, is either but a consequent of that first and one deliberation; (by which all things by a necessary and uninterrupted series of causes, were ordained and appointed to be:) or if so be that this Ruling rational part of the World takes any thought and care of things particular, They are surely his reasonable and principal creatures, that are the proper object of his particular care and providence. This often thought upon, will much conduce to thy tranquillity. I take *κρείστας* here, as spoken of the same that *λογος*: to which purpose he hath other passages, that reasonable creatures are the chiefest creatures. Yet if any man would rather have it, *ἡ ἀλογιστὸν τὰ κρείστας ὅτιν, ἐν αὐτῷ, &c.* reasonable creatures are his chiefest objects, I will not be against it, and it will be all one thing. But who could bear with Xylander his Interpretation? *Universa natura olim ad mundum fabricandum se contulit: nunc autem vel omnia quæ fiunt, consequentia fiunt sua: vel etiam in præcipuis eorum, ad quæ se mundi gubernatrix natura confert, rationi nullum locum esse & consilio, tenendum est. Hoc si memoria teneas, multis in rebus animo ut sis tranquilliori, efficiet.*

An easie matter it were to add to these many more such passages, if I thought it as necessary as it would be easie. They that shall take the pains (and it will be worth their pains I dare promise them) to compare diligently the Translations with

Antoninus himself, with I doubt not, before they have gone one or two Books over, be of my mind. I have of purpose made choice of such places especially, where I have made bold somewhat to correct the Text. I say bold, but no bolder, I will maintain, than any reasonable man must, and ought, that doth undertake any such work. For I have not (to my knowledge:) by my Translation altered any one place in this kind in the whole Book, but such as by certain proofs and demonstrations from Antoninus himself I can maintain. Those places that I thought any thing doubtful, I have given account of them to the Reader in my Notes. And if I have left any for desperate, as either imperfect or not intelligible by me, I may truly say, that had I taken to my self but the tenth part of the liberty, which Xylander doth usually throughout the whole Book; I needed not to have left any such places at all. And I make no question, but that in so doing, I might have given to many content and satisfaction good enough. But considering how much this liberty is commonly abused, and how prejudicial it proves to good Authors, I have rather chosen sometimes to say less than I might, than to give unto others an example of this bold kind of dealing with ancient Authors. The chiefest ground of all the obscurity in the Book, is, that Antoninus having been all his life an indefatigable student, and so read a world of Writers of all sorts, his manner is in these his Books, as he read any thing that made for his present purpose; closely and briefly to allude unto it, by some short meditation upon it: sometimes barely to excerpt some words, which either he had an especial liking unto, or afterward intended farther

to meditate upon, without any mention of the place or Authour from whence they are taken. Now many of these Authours being quite perished, many of his allusions so close and obscure, that though the Authours be yet extant, yet it is not easie to find from whence, or of whom, nor to what intent or purpose: it must not be wondered, if not onely many places seem obscure, but some also of little worth and use; because it doth not appear, what farther use Antoninus had of them in his mind. Howsoever to them that are any thing versed in the writings of ancient Philosophers, Stoicks especially, there will not occur many such places. If a man take but Arrianus and Seneca, and compare them diligently with Antoninus, he will find a marvellous consent, and many obscure short places of Antoninus, illustrated and explained by their larger discourse. I have done it in some few places, which I thought could not well otherwise be understood. And for the rest, I leave them to every diligent Reader's industry. Neither indeed would I have put my self to the labour of writing any Notes at all, if the Book could as well have wanted them, as I could easily have found as well, or better to my mind, how to bestow my time. However as I thought some would be needfull, so did I think also, that in the former Books, I did give satisfaction to the Reader, I might afterwards be spared, and either be trusted my self, or trust to the Reader's diligence and ability for the rest. Wherefore by supplying a word or two in the Text, I thought I could help the sense, and illustrate the matter sufficiently; to spare my self a Note, and for the ease of the Reader, I have done

it. All such additions to the Text, you shall find within two such [] marks included. And where-as those former passages by me produced, wherein I except against the Latin Translation, are all such as could not be well translated without some correction of the Text, that it may not be thought, that in such places onely it is amiss, I have for the farther satisfaction of the Reader (the Books, as hath already been said, being so scarce and hard to be come by :) taken occasion in my Notes, now and then to instance in some other passages, wherein there can be no such exception.

In the Authour himself I fear exception will be taken, at many places, as mere repetitions; at some others wherein he seemeth to contradict what he had said before. But if the Readers consider, first, that what Antoninus wrote, he wrote it not for the publick, but for his own private use; and secondly, that Antoninus his words are so intermingled every where with his Excerpta, that it doth not well appear what is his own, and what is not: as in regard of the first consideration they will, I doubt not, allow him far more liberty than otherwise were fitting: so in regard of the second, I presume they will yield both those many suspected repetitions in the Books, and those few supposed contradictions, the one perchance to be but several collections of one subject, and to one purpose from several Authours; and the others certainly, rather the different opinions of different Authours concerning the same thing, than the contradictions of one man, inconstant to himself. And as for such places which may give offence, as repugnant to our Christian faith, and impious; as when he seemeth

to speak doubtfully of God and his Providence, and to ascribe all things to fatal Necessity, and the like: I shall but desire the Readers to remember who he was that wrote, and I hope they will desire no farther satisfaction in this point. For that any Christian should expect from any out of the Church, and without the Scriptures, perfect sound knowledge in these high points, would be no small wonder to me: it being both the happiness of every the meanest Christian, that he may know more in these mysteries, than the greatest Philosophers could ever with all their wit and learning attain unto; and the proper privilege of the Divine Scriptures, that from them onely all solid truth in points of this nature is to be expected. However, that Antoninus may not want any just defence that his cause doth afford, the Reader must farther be intreated not to judge of his opinions, by one or two short passages here and there occurrent, which whether they be his or no (as we have already said) is hard to determine; but to have a respect to other more large and peremptory passages concerning the same purpose else-where to be found. As for example, concerning God and his Providence, to B. II. num. VIII. B. VI. num. XXXIX. &c. and concerning fatal Necessity, not onely to the same B. II. num. VIII. but also to divers other places, as B. VIII. num. 6. 27. 30. 32. 46. &c. by which places, as it doth plainly appear, that he doth exclude all manner of Necessity from humane wills and actions: so doth it appear by other passages, as B. VIII. num. 33. that he did not altogether exclude from the power of Providence not even those actions of men that are most contrary to the will

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of God: from which place moreover may appear what is that he often calls *εὐαγούλιον*, Fate, or Destiny; which in his meaning is no other than God's sovereign Power and Providence in ordering the matters of the world, not subject either to opposition or mutability: as by Hierocles in his *De Providentia*, by Plotinus, by Alexander Aphrodisæus, and generally by all Aristotle his Greek Interpreters, as Simplicius, Themistius, Philoponus, and many others it is interpreted. To which purpose he doth also expound the word Fortune, B. I. n. XVII. by which, other places, which otherwise perchance might be mistaken (as B. I. n. XIV. last words) must be expounded. And herein, you must know that Antoninus takes no more liberty to himself in using this word in the sense he doth, than Plato did, who although he disputes at large in his X. de Legib. that even the least things happen by Providence, and thinks it great impiety for a man to doubt of it: yet where he speaks of the uncertainty and instability of all worldly affairs, even of those that are settled with the best wisdom and discretion of men, he useth these and the like expressions, *ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀνθρώπων πράξεσιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπολύτως ἀνελπίστου καὶ ἀνέλεου τοῦ θεοῦ* that good laws oftentimes avail but little, for that in very deed it is chance and fortune, which for the most part is all in all in worldly affairs, &c. that is, in regard of us men, and of the secondary causes, not in regard of God. In which sense the use of the word even unto us Christians, is allowed by the best Schoolmen. Whether that also were Aristotle's meaning in his *Physicks*, where he treats of chance and fortune, I leave to others to consider, and shall be glad my self to judge as favourably as any other,

Plat. de
leg. lib. 4.

Aqu. 1. q.
12. art. 3.
&c.
Arist. Phys.
sic. lib. 2.
c. 4. & 5.

The PREFACE.

27

other, upon any, though but probable ground of reason. On the other side, although Antoninus doth every where absolutely maintain this liberty of man's will, and that he was not acquainted with the mystery of original sin, and natural concupiscence; yet shall you not find in him those blasphemies, in exaltation of this humane power and liberty, which you shall in Seneca, and other Stoicks: neither did he (it should seem, though but an Heathen:) so much rely upon it, but that he doth very piously commend prayers, as very powerfull and effectual unto vertue. See Lib. IX. Num. XL.

Now if Antoninus himself, being a Roman, for the propriety and facility of his expressions (wherein the Latin tongue, in matter of Philosophy, comes as short of the Greek, as the English doth of the Latin:) did in the composing of these his Books prefer the Greek tongue before his own mother-tongue; no man, I hope, will expect, that all things should in this Translation run so smoothly as in another kind of Translation haply they might. But herein I must confess my fear is for Antoninus, more than for my self. For, first, whereas he, being (I think) as well acquainted with ancient Writers and Philosophers as ever any was, doth every where very strictly and carefully observe their proper choice words and terms, which both make the sense it self more current, and pleasing; and for a Scholar to know them, and to be acquainted with them, is in many respects very usefull; This in the Translation must needs be lost, and by consequent so much lost to Antoninus, of his due praise and commendation. And, secondly, whereas in all these his twelve Books there be not ma-

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my lines (if any,) which, if well considered, will not be found either to be taken out of some ancient Author, or at least by way either of Exception, Confirmation, Illustration, and the like, to either passage or opinion of some ancient to have some relation: as to the learned I know whatsoever is in this kind, be it otherwise what it will, cannot but be acceptable and usefull; so to others, I fear, many things for want of this use of it, which they are not capable of, will seem but dry and impertinent. In these two respects I cannot deny but I have done Antoninus some wrong to make him so vulgar, as I have done; and yet because I thought he might in other respects doe good to any that should read him, if before the credit of one I have preferred the good of many, I have but done what Antoninus himself (as by these his Books may appear,) would have me, or any others doe in the like case.

And now in the last place, if any shall by these my pains receive any content, my desire is that they would thank him, by whose encouragement especially I did undertake this little work, my Reverend kind friend Doctour Lyndsell, the right worthy Bishop of Peterborough, a man for his singular worth and learning in all kind of literature, not to be named by any that know him, without expression of all due respect and admiration; and one to whom my self and my studies, of old, have been much beholding, as I shall ever most gladly acknowledge.

M. AUREL. ANTONINVS,
THE
ROMAN EMPEROUR,
His FIRST BOOK concerning
HIMSELF.

Wherein ANTONINUS recordeth, *What and of whom, whether Parents, Friends or Masters, by their good examples, or good advice and counsel, he had learned.*

Divided into *Numbers or Sections.*

[A]ntoninus Book VI. Num. XLIII. Whensoever thou wilt rejoyce thy self, call to mind the several gifts and vertues of those whom thou dost daily converse with: as for example, the industry of one, the modesty of another, the liberality of a third; of another some other thing. For nothing can so much rejoyce thee, as the Resemblances and Parallels of several vertues, eminent in the dispositions of them that live with thee, especially when all at once, as near as may be, they represent themselves unto thee. See therefore that thou have them always in a readines.]

Num. I.

OF my Grandfather *Vernus* [I have learned] to be gentle and meek, and to refrain from all anger and passion. From the same and memory of him that begot me [I have learned both] shamefacedness, and manlike behaviour. Of my Mother [I have learned] to be religious, and bountifull; and to forbear, not onely to doe, but

- but to intend any evil; to content my self with a spare diet, and to fly all such excess as is incidental to great wealth. Of my great Grandfather, ¹ both to frequent publick Schools and Auditories; and to get me good and able Teachers at home; and that I ought not to think much, if upon such occasions, I were at excessive charges.

II. Of him that brought me up not to be fondly addicted to [either of the two great factions of the Coursers in the Circus, called] *Prasini*, and *Veneti*: nor [in the Amphitheatre] partially to favour [any of the Gladiatours, or Fencers, as either] the *Parmularii*, or the *Secutoriani*. Moreover, to endure labour; not to need many things; when I have any thing to doe, to doe it my self [rather than by others;] not to meddle with many businesses; and not easily to admit of any slander.

- III. Of *Diognetus*, not to busie my self about vain things, and not ² easily to believe those things, which are [commonly] spoken by such as take upon them to work wonders, and by Sorcerers [or, *Præstigiators*, and *Impostours*;] concerning the power of charms, and their driving out of Dæmons, [or, evil spirits;] and the like. Not to ³ keep *Coturnices* [or, *Quails* for the game;] nor to be mad after such things. Not to be offended with other mens liberty of speech; and to apply my self [or, to become familiar] unto Philosophy. [Him also I must thank] that ever I heard first *Bacchius*, then *Tandafis*, and *Marcianus*: and that I did write ⁴ Dialogues in my youth, and that I took

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liking to the [*Philosophers*] little couch and skins; and such other things, which by the Grecian discipline are proper [*to those who profess Philosophy.*]

IV. To *Rusticus* I am beholding, that I first entred into the conceit that my life wanted some redress and cure. And then, that I did not fall into the ambition of [*ordinary*] Sophists, either to write tracts concerning the [*common*] Theorems, or to exhort men [*unto vertue and the study of Philosophy*] by [*publick*] orations; as also that I never by way of ostentation did affect to shew my self an active able man, [*for any kind of bodily exercises.*] And that I gave over the study of Rhetorik and Poetry, and * of elegant neat language. That I did not use to walk about the house in my Senatour's robe, nor to doe any such things. Moreover [*I learned of him*] to write letters without any affectation or curiosity: such as that was, which by him was written to my Mother from *Sineffa*: and to be easie and * ready to be reconciled and well pleased again with them that had offended me, as soon as any of them would be content to seek unto me again. To read with diligence; not to rest satisfied with a light and superficial knowledge, nor quickly to assent to things commonly spoken: whom also I must thank that ever I lighted upon *Epiſtetus* ⁶ his *Hypomnemata* [*or, moral commentaries and commonefactions:*] which also he gave me of his own.

V. From *Apollonius*, true liberty, and unvariable steadfastness, and not to regard any thing at all, though never so little, but right and reason: and always, whether in the sharpest pains, or

See B. xj.
p. 27.

* ἀσκη-
τίας, not
ἀσκη-
τίας. as
was found
by Xylan-
der in his
written
Copy; and
by him
turned in-
to ἀσκη-
τίας which he
was sorry
for after-
wards.
* εὐδαί-
μωνος.
not (as
printed)
εὐδαί-
μων.
6.

after

7. after the loss of a child, or in long diseases, to be the same man; who also was a present and visible example unto me, that it was possible for the same man to be both vehement and remiss: a man not subject to be vexed, and offended [*with the incapacity of his Scholars and Auditours*] in his lectures and expositions; and a true pattern of a man who, of all his good gifts and faculties, least esteemed in himself that his excellent skill and ability to teach and persuade others the common Theorems, [*and Maxims of the Stoick Philosophy.*] Of him also I learned, how to receive favours and kindneses (as commonly they are accounted,) from friends, so that I might not become obnoxious unto them, for them, nor more yielding [*upon occasion, than in right I ought;*] and yet so that I should not pass them neither, as an unsensible and unthankfull man.

8. VI. Of *Sextus* mildness, and the pattern of a family governed with paternal affection; and a purpose to live according to nature: to be grave without affectation: to observe carefully the several dispositions of my friends, not to be offended with Idiots, nor unseasonably to set upon those that are carried with the vulgar opinions, with the Theorems and Tenets of Philosophers: [*his conversation*] being an example how a man might accommodate himself to all men and companies; so that though his company were sweeter and more pleasing, than any flatterers cogging and fawning; yet was it at the same time most respected and revered; who also had a proper happiness, and faculty, rationally

tionally, and methodically to find out, and set in order all necessary *Dogmata* [or *determinations*] and instructions for a man's life. A man without ever the least appearance of anger, or any other passion; * able at the same time * *ἀπαθής* most exactly to observe the Stoick *Apathia*, *συνή.* [or, *unpassionateness*] and yet to be most tender-hearted: ever of good credit, and yet almost without any noise, or rumor: very learned, and yet making little shew.

VII. From *Alexander* the Grammarian, to be unreprouceable my self, and not reproachfully to reprehend any man for a barbarism, or a solecism, or any false pronunciation; but dexterously by way of answer, or testimony, or confirmation of the same matter (taking no notice of the word) to utter it as it should have been spoken; or by some other such close and indirect admonition, handsomly and civilly to tell him of it.

VIII. Of *Fronto*, to how much envy and fraud and hypocrisie the state of a Tyrannous King is subject; and how for the most part they who are commonly called *ἐλευθεροί* [or *πατρι-
σσι*, i. nobly born] are in some sort incapable [or, *void*] of natural affection.

IX. Of *Alexander* the Platonick, not often nor without great necessity to say, or to write to any man in a letter, *I am not at leisure*; nor in this manner still to put off those duties, which we owe to our friends and acquaintances (to every one in his kind,) under pretence of urgent [or, instant] affairs.

X. Of *Catulus*, not to contemn any friend's

expostulation, though unjust, but to strive to reduce him to his former disposition: Freely and heartily to speak well of all my masters [upon any occasion,] as it is reported of *Domitius*, and *Athenodorus*; and to love my children with true affection.

XI. From my brother *Sextus*, to love truth and justice, and to be kind and loving to all them of my house and family; by whom all came to the knowledge of *Thraseas*, and *Helvidius*, and *Cato*, and *Dio*, and *Brutus*. He it was also that did put me in the first conceit and desire of an equal commonwealth, administered by justice and equality; and of a Kingdom wherein should be regarded nothing more than the good and welfare [or, Liberty,] of the subjects. Of him also, to observe a constant labour, (not interrupted with any other care and distractions,) in the study and esteem of Philosophy: to be bountifull and liberal in the largest measure, always to hope the best; and to be confident that my friends love me, whom I moreover observed open dealing towards those whom he reproved at any time, and that his friends might without all doubt or much observation know what he would; or would not; to open and plain was he.

See B.
VIII. num.
LVIII.

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XII. From *Flavius Maximus*, in all things to endeavour to have power of my self, and in nothing to be carried about; to be chearfull and courageous in all sudden chances and accidents, as in sicknesses: to love mildness, and moderation, and gravity; and to doe my business, whatsoever it be, thoroughly, and without queru-

quarulousness. Whatsoever he said, all men believed him, that as he spake, so he thought, and whatsoever he did, that he did with a good intent. His manner was, never to wonder at any thing; nor to be affrighted, [or, *astonished*]; never to be in haste, and yet never slow; nor to be perplexed, or dejected, or at any time unseemly, [or, *excessively*] to laugh: nor to be angry, or suspicious, but ever ready to doe good, and to forgive, and to speak truth; and all this, as one that seemed rather of himself to have been streight and right, than ever to have been rectified, or redressed; neither was there any man that ever thought himself undervalued by him, or that could find in his heart, to think himself a better man than he. He would also be every pleasant and grations.

XIII. In my Father, I observed his meekness; his constancy without wavering in those things, which after a due examination and deliberation, he had determined. How free from all vanity he carried himself in matter of honour and dignity, (as they are esteemed:) his laboriousness and assiduity, his readiness to hear any man, that had ought to say, tending to any common good: how generally and impartially he would give every man his due; his skill and knowledge, when rigour and extremity, or when remissness and moderation was in season; how he did abstain from all unchaste love of youths; **bis* ** Gr. κοι-
moderate condescending to other mens occasions as* *νονονμο-
an ordinary man, neither absolutely requiring of* *οὐν.*
his friends, that they should wait upon him at his ordinary meals, nor that they should of necessity

cessity accompany him in his journies; and that whensoever any business upon some necessary occasions was to be put off and omitted before it could be ended, he was ever found when he went about it again, the same man that he was before. His accurate examination of things in consultations, and ¹¹ patient hearing of others. He would not hastily give over the search of the matter, as one easie to be satisfied with sudden notions and apprehensions. His care to preserve his friends; how neither at any time he would carry himself towards them with disdainfull neglect, and grow weary of them; nor yet at any time be madly fond of him. His contented mind in all things, his chearfull countenance, his care to foresee things afar off, and to take order for the least, without any noise or clamour. Moreover, how all acclamations and flattery were repressed by him: how carefully he observed all things necessary to the government, and ¹² kept an account of the common expences, and how patiently he did abide that he was reprehended by some for this his strict and rigid kind of dealing. How he was neither superstitious worshipper of the gods, nor an ambitious pleaser of men, or studious of popular applause; but sober in all things, and every where observant of that which was fitting; no affectation of novelties: in the use of those things which conduced to his ease and convenience, (plenty whereof his fortune did afford him,) without pride and bragging, yet with all freedom and liberty: so that as he did freely enjoy them without any anxiety or affectation when the

were present; so when absent, he found no want of them. Moreover, that he¹³ was never commended by any man, as either a learned acute man, or an obsequious officious man, or a fine Oratour; but as a ripe mature man, a perfect sound man; one that could not endure to be flattered; able to govern both himself and others. Moreover, how much he did honour all true Philosophers, without upbraiding those that were not so; his sociableness, his grations and delightfull conversation, but never unto satiety; his care of his body within bounds and measure, not as one that desired to live long, or over-studious of neatness and elegancy; and yet not as one that did not regard it: so that through his own care and providence, he seldom needed any inward Physick, or outward applications: but especially how ingenuously he would yield to any that had obtained any peculiar faculty, as either Eloquence, or the knowledge of the laws, or of ancient customs, or the like; and how he concurred with them, in his best care and endeavour that every one of them might in his kind, for that wherein he excelled, be regarded and esteemed: and although he did all things carefully after the ancient customs of his forefathers, yet even of this was he not desirous that men should take notice, that he did imitate ancient customs. Again, how he was not easily moved and tossed up and down, but loved to be constant, both in the same places and businesses; and how after his great fits of head-ach, he would return

- fresh and vigorous to his wonted affairs. Again, that secrets he never had many, nor often, and such onely as concerned publick matters: His discretion and moderation, in exhibiting of the *Spectaculz*, [or, publick sights and shows for the pleasure and pastime of the people :] in publick buildings, Congiaries, and the like. In all these things, ¹⁴ having a respect unto men onely as men, and to the equity of the things themselves, and not unto the glory that might follow. Never wont to use the baths at unseasonable hours; no great builder; never curious or solicitous, either about his meat, or about his workmanship, or colour of his cloths, or about any thing that belonged to external beauty. ¹⁵ His homely Countrey apparel, and such ordinarily as mean Villages could afford him. How he carried himself when he was in the Countrey towards that Custom-master, that excused himself, and desired some abatement [or, *desired him that he would forgive him.*] In all his conversation, far from all inhumanity, all boldness and incivility, all greediness and impetuosity; never doing any thing with such earnestness and intention, that a man could say of him, that he did sweat about it: but contrariwise, all things distinctly, as at leisure; without trouble; orderly, soundly, and agreeably. A man might have applied that to him, which is recorded of *Socrates*, that he knew how to want, and to enjoy those things, in the want whereof most men shew themselves weak; and in the fruition, intemperate: But to hold out firm and constant,

stant, and to keep within the compass of true moderation and sobriety in either estate, is proper to a man, who hath a perfect and invincible soul; such as he shewed himself in the sickness of Maximus.

XIV. From the gods [*I received*] that I had good grandfathers, and parents, a good sister, good masters, good domesticks, loving kinsmen, almost all that I have; and that I never through haste and rashness transgressed against any of them, notwithstanding that my disposition was such, as that such a thing (if occasion had been) might very well have been committed by me, but that it was the mercy of the gods, to prevent such a concurring of matters and occasions as might make me to incur this blame. That I was not long brought up by the Concubine of my Father; that I preserved the flower of my youth. That I took not upon me to be a man before my time, but rather put it off longer than I needed. That I lived under the government of my Lord and Father who would take away from me all pride and vain-glory, and reduce me to that conceit and opinion, that it was not impossible [*for a prince*] to live in the Court ¹⁶ without a troop of guards and followers, extraordinary apparel, such and such torches and statues, and other like particulars of state and magnificence; but that a man may reduce and contract himself almost to the state of a private man, and yet for all that not become the more base and remiss in those publick matters and affairs, wherein power and authority is requisite. That I have

had such a Brother, who by his own example might stir me up to think of my self; and by his respect and love, delight and please me. That I have got ingenuous children, and that they were not born distorted, nor with any other natural [or, bodily] deformity. That I was no great proficient in the study of Rhetorick and Poetry, and of other faculties, which perchance I might have dwelt upon, if I had found my self to go on in them with success. That I did betimes preferre those by whom I was brought up, to such places and dignities, which they seemed unto me most to desire; and that I did not put them off with hope and expectation, that (since that they were yet but young,) I would do the same hereafter. That I ever knew *Apollonius*, and *Rusticus*, and *Maximus*. That I have had occasion often and effectually to consider and meditate with my self, concerning that life which is according to nature, what the nature and manner of it is: So ¹⁷ that as for the gods and such suggestions, helps and inspirations, as might be expected from them, nothing did hinder; but that I might have begun long before to live according to nature; or that even now that I was not yet partaker and in present possession of that life, that I my self (in that I did not observe those inward motions and suggestions, yea, and almost plain and apparent instructions and admonitions of the gods,) was the only cause of it. That my body in such a life, hath been able to hold out so long. That I never had to doe with *Benedicta* and *Theodorus*, yea, and afterwards when

when I fell into some fits of love, I was soon cured. That having been often displeased, with *Rusticus*, I never did any thing unto him for which afterwards I had occasion to repent. That it being so that my mother was to dye young, yet she lived with me all her latter years. That as often as I had a purpose to help and succour any that either was poor, or fallen into some present necessity, I never was answered [by my officers] that there was not ready money enough to doe it; and that I my self never had occasion to require the like succour from any other. That I have such a wife, so obedient, so loving, so ingenuous. That I had choice of fit and able men, to whom I might commit the bringing up of my children. That by dreams I have received help, as for other things, so in particular, how I might stay my casting of bloud, and cure my dizziness; as that also that happened unto me at *Cajeta*, as * unto *Chryses* [when he Prayed by the sea-shore.] And when I did first apply my self to Philosophy, that I did not fall into the hands of some Sophists, or spent my time either in reading the manifold volumes [of ordinary Philosophers,] nor in practising my self in the solution of arguments and fallacies, nor dwelt upon the studies of the Meteors, [and other natural curiosities.] All these things without the assistance of the gods, and * fortune, could not have been.

* See the
Notes.

* See n.
XVII.

XV. In the countrey of the *Quadi* at *Granna*, these.

Betimes in the morning say [or, fore-say,]

to

18.

to thy self, This day I shall have to doe with an idle, curious man, with an unthankfull man, a railer, a crafty, false, or an envious man; an¹⁸ unsociable, uncharitable man. All these ill qualities have happened unto them, through ignorance of that which is truly good, and truly bad. But I that understand the nature of that which is good, that it [*only*] is to be desired; and of that which is bad, that it [*only*] is [*truly*] odious and shamefull: who know moreover, that this transgressor, whosoever he be, is my kinsman, not by the same blond and seed, but by participation of the same reason, and of the same *divine Particel*; How can I either be hurt by any of those, since it is not in their power, to make me incurre any thing that is [*truly*] reproachfull? or angry, and ill affected towards him, who by nature is so near unto me? for we are all born to be fellow-workers, as the feet, the hands, and the eye-lids; as the rowes of the upper and under teeth: for such therefore to be in opposition, is against nature; and what is it to chafe at, and to be averse from, but to be in opposition?

* *νεμεναι*
7707.

* See B.
III. n. XV.

19.

XVI. Whatsoever I am, is either flesh, or life, or [*that which we commonly call*] the mistress and over-ruling part of man; [*Reason.*] Away with thy books, suffer not thy mind any more to be distracted, and carried to and fro; for it will not be; but as even now ready to dye, think little of thy flesh: ¹⁹ blood, bones and a skin; a Pretty piece of knit and twisted work, consisting of nerves, veins and arteries; [*think no more of it, than so.*] And as for thy life,

life, consider what it is: a wind; not one constant wind neither; but every moment of an hour let out, and suckt in again. The third, is my ruling part; and here consider; Thou art an old man; suffer not that excellent part to be brought in subjection, and to become slavish: suffer it not to be drawn up and down with unreasonable and * *unsociable* lusts and motions, * *ακαταλογητά* as it were with wires and nerves; suffer it not any more, either to repine at any thing now present, or to fear and fly any thing to come, which the Destiny hath appointed thee. See before Note 18.

XVII. Whatsoever proceeds from the gods *See B. III. num. XII.* [immediately,] that [any man will grant] to fully depends from their divine providence. As for those things that [are commonly said to] happen by Fortune, even those must be conceived to have dependence from nature, or from that first and general connexion and concatenation of all those things, which [more apparently] by the divine Providence are administered and brought to pass. All things flow from thence: And whatsoever it is that is both necessary, and conducing to the whole; part of which thou art: and whatsoever it is that is requisite and necessary for the preservation of the general, must [of necessity] for every particular nature, be good and behovefull. And as for the whole, it is preserved, as by the perpetual mutation and conversion of the simple Elements one into another, so also by the mutation and alteration of things mixed and compounded. Let these things suffice thee; Let them be always unto thee as thy general rules and

rules and precepts. As for thy thirst after books, away with it with all speed, that thou die not murmuring and complaining, but truly meek and well satisfied, and from thy heart thankfull unto the gods.

THE SECOND BOOK.

Remember how long thou hast already put off these things, and how often a certain day and hour, as it were, having been set unto thee by the gods, thou hast neglected it. It is high time for thee to understand the true nature both of the world, whereof thou art a part; and of that Lord and Governour of the World, from whom, as a chanel from the spring, thou thy self didst flow: And that there is but a certain limit of time appointed unto thee, which if thou shalt not make use of to calm and allay the many distempers of thy soul, it will pass away and thou with it, and never after return.

II. Let it be thy earnest and incessant care as a Roman, and a man, to perform whatsoever it is that thou art about, with true and unfeigned gravity, natural affection, freedom and justice: and as for all other cares and imaginations, how thou mayest ease thy mind of them. Which thou shalt doe, if thou shalt go about every action as thy last action, free from all vanity, all passionate and wilfull aberration from right reason, and from all hypocrisie, and self-love, and dislike of those things, which by the

* fates

Book II. *His Meditations.*

45

* fates [or, appointment of God,] have happened unto thee. Thou seest that the things are but few, which for a man to hold on in a prosperous course, and to live a divine life, are requisite and necessary; for the gods will require no more of any man, that shall but keep and observe these things.

See Pref.
fol. 26.

III. Doe, Soul, doe; abuse and contemn thy self; yet a while, and the time for thee to respect thy self will be at an end. Every man's happiness depends from himself, but behold thy life is almost at an end, whiles affording thy self no respect, thou dost make thy happiness to consist in the souls and conceits of other men.

See Pref.
fol. 18. and
Num. XIV.
of this Bo.
1.

IV. Why should any of these things that happen externally, so much distract thee? Give thy self leisure to learn some good thing; and cease roving and wandring, to and fro. Thou must also take heed of [or, avoid:] another kind of wandring, for they are idle in their actions, who toil and labour in this life, and have no certain scope to which to direct all their motions, and desires.

V. For not observing the state of another man's soul, scarce was ever any man known to be unhappy. But whosoever they be that intend not, and guide not by reason and discretion the motions of their own souls, they must of necessity be unhappy.

2.

VI. These things thou must always have in mind: What is the nature of the Universe, and what is mine in particular: This unto that what relation it hath: what kind of part, of what kind of

of the universe it is: And that there is no body that can hinder thee, but that thou mayest always both do and speak those things which are agreeable to that nature whereof thou art a part.

3.

VII. *Theophrastus*, where he compares sin with sin (as after a vulgar sense such things I grant may be compared :) says well and like a Philosopher, that those sins are greater which are committed through lust, than those which are committed through anger. For he that is angry seems with a kind of grief and close contraction of himself, to turn away from reason: but he that sins through lust, being overcome by pleasure, doth in his very sin bewray a more impotent and unmanlike disposition. Well then, and like a Philosopher, doth he say, that he of the two is the more to be condemned, that sins with pleasure, than he that sins with grief. For indeed this latter may seem first to have been wronged, and so in some manner through grief thereof to have been forced to be angry; whereas he who through lust doth commit any thing, did of himself merely resolve upon that action.

VIII. Whatsoever thou dost affect, whatsoever thou dost project, so doe, and so project all, as one who, for ought thou knowest, may at this very present depart out of this life. And as for death, if there be any gods, it is no grievous thing to leave the society of men. The gods will do thee no hurt thou maist be sure. But if it be so that there be no gods, or that they take no care of the world, why should I desire to live in a world void of gods,

gods, and of all divine providence? But gods there be certainly, and they take care for the world; and as for those things which be truly evil, as vice and wickedness; such things they have put in a man's own power, that he might avoid them if he would; and had there been any thing besides, that had been truly bad and evil, they would certainly have had a care of that also, that a man might have avoided it. But why should that be thought to hurt and prejudice a man's life in this world, which cannot any ways make man himself the worse in his own person? Neither must we think that the Nature of the Universe did either through ignorance pass these things, or if not as ignorant of them, yet as unable either to prevent, or better to order and dispose them. It cannot be that she through want either of power or skill, should have committed such a thing, as to suffer all things both good and bad, equally and promiscuously to happen unto all, both good and bad. As for life therefore, and death, honour and dishonour, labour and pleasure, riches and poverty, all these things happen unto men indeed, both good and bad, equally; but as things which of themselves are neither good nor bad; because of themselves, neither shameful nor praise-worthy.

IX. Consider how quickly all things are dissolved and resolved: the bodies and substances themselves, into the matter and substance of the world; and their memories into the general Age and Time of the world. Consider the nature of all worldly sensible things;

things; of those especially, which either ensnare by pleasure, or for their irksomeness are dreadfull, or for their outward lustre and shew are in great esteem and request; how vile and contemptible, how base and corruptible, how destitute of all true life and being they are.

6. X. It is the part of a man endowed with a good understanding faculty, to consider what they themselves are in very deed, ⁶ from whose bare conceits and voices, honour and credit do proceed: as also what it is to dye, and how a man shall consider this by it self alone, *to dye*, and separate from it in his mind all those things which with it usually represent themselves unto us, he can conceive of it no otherwise than as of a work of nature, and he that fears any work of nature, is a very child. Now death, it is not only a work of nature, but also conducing to Nature.

7. XI. Consider with thy self how man, and by what part of his, is joined unto God, and how that part of man is affected, ⁷ when it is said to be *diffused*. There is nothing more wretched than that soul, which in a kind of circuit compasseth all things, searching (as he saith) *even to the very depths of the Earth*; and by all signs and conjectures prying into the very thoughts of other mens souls; and yet of this is not sensible that it is sufficient for a man to apply himself wholly, and to confine all his thoughts and cares to ⁸ the tendance of that Spirit which is within him, and truly and really to serve him. His service doth consist in this

this, that a man keep himself pure from all violent passion, and evil affection, from all rashness and vanity, and from all manner of discontent; either in regard of the gods or men. For indeed whatsoever proceeds from the gods, deserves respect for their worth and excellency; and whatsoever proceeds from men, as they are our kinsmen, should by us be entertained; with love, always; sometimes, as proceeding from their ignorance of that which is truly good and bad, (a blindness no less, than that by which we are not able to discern between white and black:) with ^{9.} a kind of pity and compassion also.

XII. If thou shouldst live 3000, or as many 10000¹⁰ of years, yet remember this, ^{10.} that man can part with no life properly, save with that little part of life which he now lives: and that which he lives, is no other than that which at every instant he parts with. That then which is longest of duration, and that which is shortest, come both to one effect. For although in regard of that which is already past there may be some inequality, yet that time which is now present and in being is equal unto all men. And that being it which we part with [*whensoever we die,*] it doth manifestly appear, that it can be but a moment of time that we then part with. For as for that which is either past or to come, a man cannot be said properly to part with it. For how should a man part with that which he hath not; These two things therefore thou must remember. First, that all things in the world from all eternity, by a perpetual re-
E
volution

volation of the same times and things ever continued and renewed, are of one kind and nature; so that whether for a 100. or 200. years onely; or for an infinite space of time, a man see those things which are still the same, it can be no matter of great moment. And secondly, that that life which any the longest liver, or the shortest liver parts with, is for length and duration the very same; for that only which is present, is that which either of them can lose, as being that onely which they have: for that which he hath not, no man can truly be said to lose.

II. XIII. Remember that all is but opinion and conceit; for those things are plain and apparent which were spoken unto *Antoninus* the Cynick, and as plain and apparent is the use that may be made of those things, if that which is true and serious in them, be received as well as that which is sweet and pleasing.

XIV. A man's soul doth wrong and disrespect it self, first and especially, when as much as in it self lies it becomes an *Apostate*, and as it were an excrescency of the world; for to be grieved and displeased with any thing that happens in the world, is direct *Apostasy* from the Nature of the Universe; part of which, all particular Natures of the world are. Secondly, when she either is averse from any man, or led by contrary desires and affections, tending to his hurt and prejudice; such as are the souls of them that are angry. Thirdly, when she is overcome by any pleasure or pain. Fourthly, when she doth dissemble, and covertly and fally, either doth or saith any thing. Fifthly, when she doth

doth either affect or endeavour any thing to no certain end, but rashly and without due ratiocination, and consideration, how consequent or inconsequent it is to the common end. For even the least things ought not to be done, without relation unto the end; and the end of the reasonable creatures is, to follow and obey him, who is the reason as it were, and the law of this * great City, and most ancient Commonwealth. * See B. X. n. 34.

XV. The time of a man's life is as a point; the substance of it ever flowing, the sense obscure: and the whole composition of the body, tending to corruption. His soul is restless, fortune uncertain, and fame doubtfull; to be brief, as a stream so are all things belonging to the body; as a dream, or as a smock, so are all that belong unto the soul. Our life is a warfare, and a mere pilgrimage. Fame after life is no better than oblivion. What is it then that will adhere and follow? One only thing, Philosophy. And Philosophy doth consist in this, for a man to preserve that Spirit which is within him, from all manner of contumelies and injuries, and above all pains or pleasures; never to doe any thing either rashly, or feignedly, or hypocritically; Wholly to depend on, [or, of] himself, and his own proper actions: all things that happen unto him, to embrace contentedly, as coming from Him from whom he Himself also came; and above all things, with all meekness and a calm chearfulness, to expect death, as being nothing else but the resolution of those Elements, of which every creature is composed.

And if the Elements themselves suffer nothing by this their perpetual conversion of one into another; why should that dissolution and alteration, which is so common unto all, be feared by any? Is not this according to Nature? But nothing that is according to Nature can be evil.

Whilst I was at Carnuntus.

THE THIRD BOOK.

A Man must not onely consider how daily his life wasteth and decreaseth, and that but a very little [or, the lesser] portion of it is now behind; but this also, that if he live long, he cannot be certain, whether his understanding shall continue so able and sufficient, for either discreet consideration, in matter of businesses; or for contemplation, which is the thing whereon true knowledge of things both divine and humane doth depend. For if once he shall begin to dote, his respiration, nutrition, his imaginative, and appetitive, and other natural faculties, [*may still continue the same:*] he shall find no want of them. But how to make that right use of himself that he should, how to observe exactly in all things that which is right and just; how to redress and rectifie all [*wrong, or sudden*) apprehensions and imaginations, and even
of

of this particular, to consider duly, whether he should live any longer or no; for all such things, wherein the best strength and vigour of the mind is most requisite, [*his Power and ability*] will be already passed and gone. Thou must hasten therefore; not onely because thou art every day nearer unto death than other, but also because that intellective faculty in thee, whereby thou art enabled to know the true nature of things, and to order all thy actions by that knowledge, doth daily waste and decay: [*Or, may fail thee before thou die.*]

II. This also thou must observe, that whatsoever it is that naturally doth happen to things natural hath somewhat in it self that is pleasing and delightfull; [*Or, attractive.*] as a [*great*] loaf when it is baked, some parts of it cleave as it were, and part asunder, [*and make the crust of it rugged and unequal,*] and yet those parts of it, though in some sort it be against the art and intention of baking it self, that they are thus cleft and parted, [*which should have been, and were first made all even and uniform,*] they become it well nevertheless, and have a certain peculiar property to stir the appetite. So Figs are accounted fairest and ripest then, when they begin to shrink, and wither as it were. So ripe Olives, when they are next to putrefaction, then are they in their proper beauty. The hanging down of Grapes, the brow of a Lion, the froth of a foming wild Boar, and many other like things, though by themselves considered, they are far from any beauty, yet because they happen naturally, they both are comely and

delightfull; so that if a man shall with a profound mind and apprehension, consider all things in the world, even among all those things which are but mere accessories, and natural appendices as it were, there will scarce appear any thing unto him, wherein he will not find matter of pleasure and delight. So will he behold with as much pleasure the true reason of wild beasts, as those which by skilfull Painters, and other Artificers are imitated. So will he be able to perceive the proper ripeness and beauty of old age whether in man, or woman, and whatsoever else it is, that is beautifull and alluring in whatsoever is with chaste and continent eyes. he will loon find out and discern. I hope and many other things will he discern, not credible unto every one, but unto them only who are truly and familiarly acquainted both with nature it self, and all natural things for, and all the works of nature.

III. Hippocrates having cured many sicknesses, fell sick himself and died. The Chaldeans and Astrologians, having foretold the deaths of divers, were afterwards themselves surpris'd by the Fates. Alexander and Pompey, and Cæsar, having utterly destroyed so many towns, and cut off in the fields so many thousands both of horse and foot, yet they themselves at last were faine to part with their own lives. Heraclitus having written so many natural tracts concerning the last and general conflagration of the world, died afterwards all filled with water within, and all bedaubed with dirt and dung without. Lice killed Democritus; and Socrates, another sort of vermine, [wicked ungodly men]

See the
Larine
Notes.

over.] How then stands the case? Thou hast taken ship, thou hast sailed, thou art come to land, go out, if to another life, there also shalt thou find gods, who are every where. If all life and sense shall cease, then shalt thou cease also to be subject to either pains, or pleasures; and to serve and rend this vile Cottage; so much the wiser, by how much that which ministers unto it doth excell; the one being a rational substance, and a spirit, the other nothing but earth and blood.

IV. Spend not the remnant of thy days in thoughts and fancies concerning other men, when it is not in relation to some common good, when by it thou art hindered from some other *[better]* work. That is, *[spend not thy time]* in thinking, what such a man doth, and to what end; what he saith, and what he thinks, and what he is about, and such other things *[or, curiosities]* which make a man to rove and wander from the care and observation of that part of himself, which is rational, and over-ruling. See therefore in the whole series and connexion of thy thoughts, that thou be carefull to prevent *[or avoid]* whatsoever is idle and impertinent; but especially, whatsoever is curious and malicious; and thou must use thy self to think onely of such things, of which if a man upon a sudden should ask thee, what it is that thou art now thinking, thou mayest answer freely and boldly, *This*, and *That*; that so by thy thoughts it may presently appear that all in thee is sincere, and peaceable; as becometh that is made for society, and regards

pleasures, nor gives way to any voluptuous imaginations at all [or, *to any longing thoughts or desires at all:*] free from all contentiousness, envy and suspicion, and from whatsoever else thou wouldest blush to confess thy thoughts were set upon. He that is such, is he surely that doth not put off to lay hold on that which is best indeed, a very Priest and Minister of the gods, well acquainted and in good correspondence with Him especially that is seated and placed within himself, [as in a Temple and Sacrary:] To whom also he keeps and preserves himself neither spotted by pleasure, nor daunted by pain; free from any manner of wrong, or contumely, [by ^a himself offered unto himself:] not capable of any evil [^b from others:] a wrestler of the best sort, and for the highest prize, that he may not be cast down by any passion or affection of his own; deeply died and drenched in righteousness, embracing and accepting with his whole heart whatsoever either happeneth or is allotted unto him. One who not often, nor without some great necessity tending to some publick good, mindeth what any other either speaks, or doeth, or purposeth: For those things onely that are in his own power [or, *that are truly his own;*] are the objects of his employments, and his thoughts are ever taken up with those things, which of the whole Universe are by the Fates [or, *Providence*] destinated and appropriated unto Himself. These things that are his own and in his own power, he himself takes order for that they be good:

^a See B. II.
num. XIV.
^b See B. IV.
num. VII.

god: and as for those that happen unto him, he believes them to be so. For that lot and portion which is assigned to every one * as it is * See the
 unavoidable and necessary, so is it always pro- Latine
 stable: [or, is partly from without, unavoi- Notes.
 dable: and partly from within, depending of the will.] He remembers besides that whatsoever partakes of reason, is of kin unto him, and that to care for all men *generally*, is agreeing to the nature of a man: But as for honour and praise, that they ought not *generally* to be admitted and accepted of from all, but from such only who live according to nature. As for them that do not, what manner of men they be at home, or abroad, day, or night, how conditioned themselves, with what manner of conditions [or, *with men of what conditions*] they moil and pass away the time together, he knoweth, and remembers right well: he therefore regards not such praise and approbation, as proceeding from them, who cannot like and approve themselves.

V. Do nothing against thy will, nor contrary to the community, nor without due examination, nor with reluctancy. Affect not to set out thy thoughts with curious neat language. Be neither a great talker, nor a great undertaker. Moreover, let thy god that is in thee to rule over thee, find by thee, that he hath to doe with a man; an aged man; a sociable man; a Roman; a Prince; one that hath ordered his life, as one that expecteth, as it were, nothing but the sound of the trumpet, sounding a retreat to depart out of this life with all readiness
 and

and expedition; as one who needs neither
 oath [much ordinary soldiers take.] nor any
 necessities. Let be the more strongly bound to the
 audience and service; out of himself is ready to
 at the first call of the trumpet.

VI. A magnificent thing it is. [or, most com-
 fortable.] as much as any thing. [I.e. to comfort
 thy self.] as to stand in no need [I.e. eny
 help:] either of other mens help or
 tendance, or of that rest and tranquillity, which
 thou must be beholding to others for. Rather
 like one that is freight of himself [or, he
 ever been freight] than one that hath been
 rectified.

See B. I.
 a. XII.

VII. If thou shalt find any thing in this mo-
 tal life better than righteousness, than truth,
 temperance, fortitude: and in general, better
 than a mind contented both with those things
 which according to right and reason are de-
 by thee through her help; and in those which
 without her will and knowledge happen un-
 thee by the Providence; If, I say, thou can-
 find out any thing better than this: apply
 self unto it with thy whole heart, and that which
 is best wheresoever thou dost find it, in
 [freely.] But if thou shalt find nothing wor-
 thy to be preferred before that Spirit which
 within thee: if nothing better than to sub-
 unto thee thine own lusts and desires, and not
 to give way to any fancies or imaginations be-
 fore thou hast duly considered of them; no-
 thing better than to withdraw thy self (to use
 Socrates his words) from all sensuality, and
 submit thy self unto the gods, and to have care

all men in general: If thou shalt find that
other things in comparison of this, are but
of little moment; then give not way
any other thing, which being once, [though
affected and inclined unto, it will no more
in thy power, without all distraction [as
an *angel*] to prefer and to pursue after
good, which is thine own and thy proper
For it is not lawfull that any thing that
of another [and *inferiour*] kind and nature,
than it what it will, as either popular applause, or
honour, or riches, or pleasures; should be suffer-
to contests and contest as it were, with that
which is rational and operatively good. For all
things, if once, though but for a while, they
to please, they presently prevail, and per-
a man's mind. For, *turn a man from the*
I Do thou therefore, I say, absolutely
freely make choice of that which is best,
and stick unto it. Now, that [Liby says] is best,
which is most profitable. If they mean profit
to man as he is a rational man, stand thou
and maintain it; but if they mean Profit
as he is a creature [only], I reject it;
and from this thy Tenet and Conclusion keep off
all plausible shews, and colours of ex-
appearance, that thou maist be able to discern
things rightly.

VIII. Never esteem of any thing as profitable,
which shall ever constrain thee either to
break thy faith, or to lose thy modesty; to hate
any man, to suspect, to curse, to dissemble, to
after any thing, that requireth the secret of
veils, or veils. But he that preferreth before
all

Greek
ἀνθρώπος
φύλακος
See B. VI.
num. XI.

all things his Rational part and Spirt, and sacred mysteries of vertue which issueth from he shall never lament and exclaim; never he shall never want either Solitude or company and which is chiefest of all, he shall live with neither desire or fear. And as for life, whether for a long or short time he shall enjoy his thus compassed about with a body, he is altogether indifferent. For if even now he were to depart, he is as ready for it, as for any action, which may be performed with modesty and decency. For all his life long, this is his only care, that his mind may always be employed in such intentions and objects as are proper to a rational sociable creature.

IX. In the mind that is [once truly] disciplined and purged, thou canst not find any thing either foul or impure, or as (it were) infected with nothing that is either servile, or affected with [partial] tie; no [malicious] averfeness, nothing obnoxious; nothing concealed. The death of such an one, Death can never surpriseth as perfect; as of an Actour that should die before he had ended, or the Play it self were at an end as a man might speak.

X. Use thine opinative faculty with all honour and respect, for in her [indeed] is that thy opinion do not beget in thy understanding any thing contrary to either Nature, or the proper constitution of a Rational creature. The end and object of a Rational constitution is, to doe nothing rashly, to be kindly affected towards men, and in all things willingly to submit unto the gods. Casting therefore all other things

things aside, keep thy self to these few, and remember withall that no man properly can be said to live more than that which is now present, which is but a moment of time. Whatsoever is besides, is either already past, or incertain. The time therefore that any man doth live is but a little, and the place where he liveth is but a very little corner of the earth, and the greatest fame that can remain of a man after his Death, even that is but little, and that too, such as it is whilst it is, is by the succession of silly mortal men preserved, who likewise shall shortly die, and [even whilst they live] know not what in very deed they themselves are: and much less can know one, who was before is dead and gone.

XI. To these fore-spoken ever-present helps and *mementoes*, let one more be added, Ever to make a particular description and delineation as it were of every object that presents it self to thy mind, that thou mayst wholly and thoroughly contemplate it, in its own proper nature, bare and naked; wholly, and severally; divided into its several parts and quarters: and then by thy self in thy mind, to call both it, and those things of which it doth consist, and into which it shall be resolved, by their own proper true Names and appellations. For there is nothing so effectual to beget true Magnanimity, as to be able truly and methodically to examine and consider all things that happen in this life, and so to penetrate into their natures, that at the same time, this also may concur in our apprehensions: What is the true use of it: and what is the true nature of this Universe, to which it is usefull?

See B. VI.
num. XI.

usefull? How much in regard of the Univerſe may it be eſteemed? how much in regard of man, a Citizen of the ſupreme City, of which other Cities in the World are as it were houſes and families?

See B. I.
a. XVII.

XII. What is this that now my fancy is upon? of what things doth it conſiſt? how long can it laſt? which of all the virtues, is proper virtue for this preſent uſe? as whether meekneſs, fortitude, truth, faith, ſincerity, ſentation, or any of the reſt? Of every thing therefore thou muſt uſe thy ſelf to ſay, [*immediately*] comes from God. This by the fatal connexion and concatenation of things, (which almoſt comes to one;) by ſome accidental casualty. And as for this, it proceeds from my neighbour, my kinſman, my fellow through his ignorance indeed, becauſe he knows not what is truly natural unto him: I know it, and therefore carry my ſelf towards him according to the natural law of fellowſhip, that is, kindly, and juſtly. As for thoſe things that of themſelves are altogether indifferent, in my beſt judgement I conceive every thing to deſerve more or leſs, ſo I carry my ſelf towards it.

See B. VI.
2. 30. VIII.
30. IX. 5.
24. X. 13.
33.

XIII. If thou ſhalt intend that which is preſent, following the rule of right and reaſon calmly, fully, ſolidly, meekly, and ſhalt not intermix any other buſineſſes, but ſhalt ſtudy this [*only*] to preſerve thy Spirit impolluted, and pure, as one that were even now ready to give up the ghoſt, ſhalt cleave unto Him without either hope or fear of any thing, in all things that thou ſhalt

either do or speak, contenting thy self with
 physical truth, thou shalt live happily; and from
 hence there is no man that can hinder thee.

XIV. As Physicians [and Chirurgeons] have
 always their instruments ready at hand for all
 sudden cure, so have thou always thy Dog-
 mas in a readiness for the knowledge of things
 divine and humane: and whatsoever thou
 doest, even in the smallest things that thou doest,
 thou must ever remember that mutual relation
 and connexion that is between these two [things
 divine, and things humane]. For without relation
 unto God, thou shalt never perform aright
 any thing humane; nor on the other side
 any thing divine [without some respect had to
 things humane].

XV. Be not deceived; For thou shalt never
 live to read thy moral Commentaries, nor the
 works of the ancient [famous] Romans and Gre-
 cians; nor those *Excerpta* from several Books;
 which thou hadst provided and laid up for thy
 self, against thine old age. Hasten therefore to
 the end, and giving over all vain hopes, help thy
 self [in time] if thou carest for thy self, as thou
 oughtest to doe.

XVI. To ^asteal, to ^bsow, to buy, to be ^cat rest,
 and see what is to be done (which is not seen by
 the eyes, but by another kind of sight :) what
 these words mean, and how many ways to be
 understood, they do not understand. The body
 the soul, the Understanding. [As] the senses
 naturally, belong to the body, and the desires
 and affections to the soul, so do the dogmata to
 the understanding.

^a See B.X.
 n. XV.
 B. XI.
 n. XVI.
^b See B.IV.
 n. XXIX.
 See B.IV.
 n. III.
^c See B.IV.
 n. XXIV,
 B. VIII.
 n. XXXVI.

XVII. To

See Pref.
pag. 12.
and notes
upon Book
VIII. 1.

XVII. To be capable of fancies and imaginations, is common to man and beast. To be violently drawn and moved by the lusts and desires [of the soul,] is proper to wild beasts and monsters; such as *Phalaris* and *Nero* were. To follow reason for ordinary duties and actions, is common to them also, who believe not that there be any gods, and [for their advantage would make no conscience] to betray their own Country; and who, when once the doors be shut upon them, dare do any thing. If therefore all things else be common to these likewise, it follows, that for a man to like and embrace all things that happen and are destinated unto him, and not to trouble and molest that Spirit which is seated in the temple of his own breast, with a multitude of [vain] fancies and imaginations, but to keep him propitious, and to obey him as a god, never either speaking any thing contrary to truth, or doing any thing contrary to Justice; is the onely true property of a good man. And such an one, though no man should believe that he liveth as he doth, either sincerely and conscionably, or chearfully and contentedly; yet is he neither with any man at all angry for it, nor diverted by it from the way that leadeth to the end of his life, at which it becometh a man to arrive with all quietness, purity and alacrity; in all things without any manner of compulsion fitted and accommodated to his proper lot and portion.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

THAT inward mistress part [of man,] if it be in its own true natural temper, is towards all wordly chances and events ever so disposed and affected, that it will easily turn and apply it self to that which may be, and is within its own power to compass, [when that cannot be which at first is intended.] For it never doth absolutely ad-
 dict and apply it self to any one object, but whatsoever it is that it doth now intend and prosecute, it doth prosecute it with * exception and * Gr. *μὴ*
 reservation; so that whatsoever it is that falls *ὡς ἐκ τῆς*
 out contrary [to its first intentions,] even that *ἡ*
 afterwards it makes its proper object. Even as the fire when it prevails upon those things that are in his way; by which things indeed a little fire would have been quenched, but a great fire doth soon turn to its own nature, and so consume whatsoever comes in its way: yea, by those very things it is made greater and greater.

II. Let nothing be done rashly and at random, but all things according to the most exact and perfect Rules of Art.

III. They seek for themselves private retiring-places, as Countrey villages, the sea-shoar, mountains; yea, thou thy self art wont to long much after such places. But all this [thou must know] proceeds from simplicity in the highest degree.

* Gr. ἐν-
μαρτυρ.

degree. At what time soever thou wilt, it is in thy power to retire into thy self, and to be at rest. For a man cannot retire any whither for to be more at rest, and freer from all busyness, than to his own soul. He especially who is before-hand provided of such things within, which whensoever he doth withdraw himself to look in, may presently afford unto him perfect ease and tranquillity. By * *tranquillity* I understand a decent orderly disposition and carriage free from all confusion and tumultuousness. Afford then thy self this retiring continually, and thereby refresh and renew thy self. Let those [*precepts*] be brief and fundamental, which as soon as thou dost call them to mind, may suffice thee to purge thy soul thoroughly, and to send thee away well pleased with those things, whatsoever they be, which now again, [*after this short withdrawing of thy soul into her self:*] thou dost return unto. For what is it that thou art offended at? Can it be at the wickedness of men, when thou dost call to mind this conclusion, that all reasonable creatures are made one for another? and that it is part of justice to bear with them? and that it is against their wills that they offend? and how many already, who [*once likewise*] prosecuted their enmities, suspected, hated, and fiercely contended, are now [*long ago*] stretcht out, and reduced unto Ashes? It is time for thee to make an end. As for those things which among the common chances of the world happen unto thee as thy particular lot and portion, canst thou be displeased with any of them, when thou dost

dost call that [*our ordinary*] *Dilemma* to mind, *Either a Providence, or* [*Democritus his*] *Atoms*; and with it, whatsoever we brought to prove, that the whole world is as it were one City? And as for thy body, what canst thou fear, if thou dost consider that thy Mind and Understanding, when once it hath recollected it self, and knows its own power, hath in this life and breath, (whether * it run smoothly and gently, or whether harshly and rudely,) no interest at all, but is altogether indifferent: and whatsoever else thou hast heard and as-
 sented unto concerning either pain or pleasure? But the care of thine honour and reputation will perchance distract thee. How can that be, if thou dost look back, and consider both how quickly all things that are, are forgotten, and what an immense *chaos* of eternity was before, and will follow after all things; and the vanity of praise, and the inconstancy and variableness of humane Judgements and opinions, and the narrowness of the place wherein it is limited and circumscribed? For the whole earth is but as one point; and of it, this inhabited part of it is but a very little part; and of this part, how many in number, and what manner of men are they that will commend thee? What remains then, but that thou often put in practice this kind of retiring of thy self to this little part of thy self; and above all things, keep thy self from distraction, and ^a *intend not any thing vehemently*; but be free and consider all things, ^a *as a man, [whose proper object is virtue,]* as a

* See B. V.
 n. XX.
 B. VII.
 XXXV. t.
 B. IX. XLf.

* Gr. *μὴ*
καλεῖσθαι
 * Gr. *ὡς*
ἀνὴρ
 * *man*

* Gr. *ὁ ἀνθρώπος*.
See Note
XIV. and
XVIII.
upon B. I.
and B. V.
num. VI.

* *man*, [whose true nature is to be kind and sociable:] as a Citizen; as a mortal creature? Among other things, which to consider and look into thou must use to withdraw thy self, let those two be among the most obvious and at hand. One, that the things or objects themselves reach not unto the soul, but stand without still and quiet, and that it is from the opinion onely which is within, that all the tumult and all the trouble doth proceed. The next, that all these things, which now thou seest, shall within a very little while be changed, and be no more: and ever call to mind, how many changes and alterations in the world thou thy self hast already been an eye-witness of in thy time. This world is mere change, and this life, opinion.

IV. If to understand and to be reasonable be common unto all men, then is that reason, for which we are termed reasonable, common unto all. If reason in general; then is that reason also which prescribeth what is to be done, and what not, common unto all. If that, then Law. If Law, then are we fellow-Citizens. If so, then are we partners in some one Common-weal. If so, then the world is as it were a City. For what other Common-weal is it that all men can be said to be members of? From this Common City it is, that Understanding, Reason, and Law is derived unto us, for from whence else? For as that which in me is earthly, I have from some [common] earth; and that which is moist, from some other Element is imparted; as my breath and life hath its proper fountain; and that likewise which is dry and fiery in me: (for there

there is nothing which doth not proceed from something ; as also there is nothing that can be reduced to mere nothing :) so also is there some [*common beginning*] from whence my understanding hath proceeded.

V. As generation is, so also death, a secret of Nature's wisdom ; a mixture of Elements resolved into the same Elements again, a thing surely which no man ought to be ashamed of : in the series of other fatal events and consequences, which a rational creature is subject unto, not improper or incongruous ; nor contrary to the natural and proper constitution of man himself.

VI. Such and such things from such and such causes, must of necessity proceed. He that would not have such things to happen, is as he that would have the fig-tree [*grow*] without any sap or moisture. In summe, remember this, that within a very little while, both thou and he shall both be dead, and after a little while more, not so much as your names and memories shall be remaining.

See B. VI.
n. LII.
B. VIII.
n. XIII.

VII. Let opinion be taken away, and no man will think himself wronged. If no man shall think himself wronged, then is there no more any such thing as *wrong*. That which makes not man himself the worse, cannot make his life the worse, neither can it hurt him either inwardly or outwardly. It was expedient in nature that it should be so, and therefore necessary.

VIII. Whatsoever doth happen in the world, doth happen justly, and so, if thou dost well take heed, thou shalt find it. I say not onely in right order by a series of inevitable consequences,

but according to Justice, and as it were by way of equal distribution, according to the true worth of every thing. Continue then to take notice of it, as thou hast begun, and whatsoever thou doest, doe it not without this proviso, that it be a thing of that nature that a good man, (as the word *good* is properly taken) may doe it. This observe carefully in every action.

IX. Conceit no such things as he that wrongeth thee conceiveth, or would have thee to conceive, but look into the matter it self, and see what it is in very truth.

X. These two rules thou must have always in a readines. First, doe nothing at all, but what Reason, proceeding from the Regal and supreme part, shall for the good and benefit of men suggest unto thee. And, secondly, if any man that is present shall be able to rectifie thee, or to turn thee from some [erroneous] persuasion, that thou be always ready to change thy mind, and this change to proceed, not from any respect of any pleasure or credit thereon depending, but always from some probable apparent ground of Justice, or from some publick good thereby to be furthered, or from some other such inducement.

XI. Hast thou Reason; I have. Why then makest thou not use of it? For if thy Reason doe her part, what more canst thou require?

XII. As a part hitherto thou hast had a particular subsistence: and now shalt thou vanish away into the common substance of him who first begot thee, or rather thou shalt be resumed again into that original rational substance, out of

of which all others have issued and are propagated. Many small pieces of Frankincense are set upon the same Altar, one drops first [*and is consumed,*] another after; and it comes all to one.

XIII. Within ten days [*if so it happen*] thou shalt be esteemed a god of them, who now if thou shalt return to the *Dogmata* and to the honouring of Reason, will esteem of thee no better than of a mere brute, and of an Ape.

XIV. Not as though thou hadst thousands of years to live. Death hangs over thee: whilst yet thou livest, whilst thou mayst be good.

XV. How much time and leisure doth he gain, who is not curious to know what his neighbour hath said, or hath done, or hath attempted, but onely what he doth himself, that it may be just and holy? or, to express it in *Agatho's* words, *Not to look about upon the evil conditions of others, but to run on streight in the line, without any loose and extravagant agitation?*

XVI. He who is greedy of credit and reputation after his death, doth not consider, that they themselves by whom he is remembred, shall soon after every one of them be dead; and they likewise that succeed those; untill at last all memory, which hitherto by the succession of men admiring, and soon after dying, hath had its course, be quite extinct. But suppose that both they that shall remember thee, and thy memory with them should be immortal, what is that to thee? I will not say to thee after thou art dead, but even to thee living. What is thy praise? but onely for a secret and politick consideration, which we call *civility*, or Dispen-

sation: [*Publick praises and commendations, being ordinarily a strong motive to draw men to the love of vertue.*] For as for that, that it is the gift of nature [*whatsoever is commended in thee, what might be objected from thence,*] let that now that we are upon another consideration, be omitted as unseasonable. That which is fair and goodly, whatsoever it be, and in what respect soever it be, that it is fair and goodly, it is so of it self, and terminates in it self, not admitting praise as a part or member: that therefore which is praised, is not thereby made either better or worse. This I understand either of those things that are commonly called fair and good, as those which are commended even for the matter it self, or for curious workmanship. As for that which is truly good, what can it stand in need of [*to commend it*] more than either Justice or Truth; or more than either kindness or modesty? For which of all those either becomes good or fair, because commended; or dispraised suffers any damage? Doth the Emerald become worse in it self, or more vile, if it be not commended? Doth gold, or ivory, or purple? Is there any thing that doth, though never so common, as a knife, a flower, or a tree?

XVII. If so be, that the souls remain after death [*say they that will not believe it,*] how is the air from all eternity able to contain them? How is the earth [*say I,*] ever from that time able to contain the bodies of them that are buried? For as here the change and resolution of dead bodies into another kind of subsistence, (whatsoever it be,) makes place

for other dead bodies : so the souls after death transferred into the air, after they have conversed there a-while, are either by way of transmutation, or transfusion, or conflagration, received again into that original rational substance, from which all others do proceed; and so give way to those souls, who before coupled and associated unto bodies, [*now begin to subsist single.*] This, upon a supposition that the souls after death doe for a-while subsist single, may be answered. And here, (besides the number of bodies so buried and contained by the earth,) we may farther consider the number of several beasts, eaten by us men and by other creatures. For notwithstanding that such a multitude of them is daily consumed, and as it were buried in the bodies of the eaters, yet is the same place and body able to contain them, by reason of their conversion partly into bloud, partly into air and fire. What in these things is the speculation of truth? to divide things into that which is passive and material, and that which is active and formal.

XVIII. Not to wander out of the way, but upon every motion and desire to perform that which is just : and ever to be carefull to attain to the true natural apprehension of every fancy that presents it self.

XIX. Whatsoever is expedient unto thee, O World ! is expedient unto me. Nothing can be unseasonable unto me as either coming before, or after its due time, which unto thee is seasonable. Whatsoever thy seasons bear, shall ever by me be esteemed as happy fruit, and increase.

increase. O Nature! from thee are all things, in thee all things subsist; and to thee all tend. Could he say of Athens, *Thou lovely City of Crops?* and shalt not thou say of the World, *Thou lovely City of God?*

XX. They will say commonly, *Meddle not with many things, if thou wilt live cheerfully.* Certainly there is nothing better, than for a man to confine himself to necessary actions; to such and so many onely, as reason in a creature that knows it self born for society, will command and enjoin. This will not onely procure that cheerfulness, which from the goodness, but that also which from the paucity of actions doth usually proceed. For since it is so, that most of those things which we either speak or doe are unnecessary; if a man shall cut them off, it must needs follow that he shall thereby gain much leisure, and save much trouble; and therefore at every action a man must privately by way of admonition suggest unto himself, *What! May not this that I now go about be of the number of unnecessary actions?* Neither must he use himself to cut off actions onely, but thoughts and imaginations also, that are unnecessary; for so will unnecessary consequent actions the better be prevented and cut off.

XXI. Try also how a good man's life (of one who is well pleased with those things whatsoever, which among the common changes and chances of this world fall to his own lot and share; and can live well contented and fully satisfied in the justice of his own proper present action; and in the goodness of his disposition for

the

the future :) will agree with thee. Thou hast had experience of that other kind of life : make now trial of this also. Trouble not thy self any more henceforth, reduce thy self unto perfect simplicity. Doth any man offend ? It is against himself that he doth offend : [*why should it trouble thee ?*] Hath any thing happened unto thee ? It is well, whatsoever it be, it is that which of all the common chances of the world from the very beginning in the *series* of all other things that have happened, or shall happen, was destinated and appointed unto thee. To comprehend all in few words ; Our life is short ; we must endeavour to gain the present time with best discretion and justice. Use recreation with sobriety.

XXII. Either this world is a *Κόσμος*, or a *comely piece*, because all disposed and governed by certain order : or if it be a mixture, though confused, yet still it is a *Κόσμος*, a *comely piece*. For is it possible that in thee there should be any beauty at all, and that in the whole world there should be nothing but disorder and confusion ? and all things in it too, [*by natural different properties*] one from another differenced and distinguished ; and yet through-diffused, and by natural Sympathy one to another united, as they are ?

See B. VI.
n. xxxvii.

XXIII. A black [or, malignant] disposition, an effeminate disposition, an hard inexorable disposition, a wild inhumane disposition, a sheepish disposition, a childish disposition ; a blockish, a false, a scurril, a fraudulent, a tyrannical : [*what then ?*] If he be a stranger in the world that knows not

See before
n. XV.

not the things that are in it ; why not he a stranger as well , that wonders at the things that are done in it?

XXIV. He is a true *fugitive* , that flies from reason , by which men are sociable. He *blind* , who cannot see with the eyes of his understanding. He *poor* , that stands in need of another , and hath not in himself all things needfull for this life. He an *Aposteme* of the world , who by being discontented with those things that happen unto him in the world , doth as it were *postatize* , and separate himself from common Nature's rational Administration. For the same nature it is that brings this unto thee , whatsoever it be that first brought thee into the world. He is a Separatist from the City [*of the whole world* ,] who [*by irrational actions*] withdraws his own soul from the One and common soul of all rational Creatures.

XXV. There is , who without so much as a Coat ; and there is , who without so much as a Book , doth put Philosophy in practice. I am half naked , neither have I bread to eat , and yet I depart not from Reason , saith one. But , I say , I want the food of good teaching and instructions , and yet I depart not from Reason.

XXVI. What Art and Profession soever thou hast learned , endeavour to affect it , and comfort thy self in it ; and pass the remainder of thy life as one who from his whole heart commits himself , and whatsoever belongs unto him , unto the gods : and as for men , carry not thy self either tyrannically , or servilely towards any.

XXVII.

XXVII. Consider in thy mind, for example's sake, the times of *Vespasian*: Thou shalt see but the same things; some marrying, some bringing up children, some sick, some dying, some fighting, some feasting, some merchandizing, some tilling, some flattering, some boasting, some suspecting, some undermining, some wilhing to dye, some fretting and murmuring at their present estate, some wooing, some hoarding, some seeking after Magistracies, and some after Kingdoms. And is not that their age quite over and ended? Again, consider now the times of *Trajan*. There likewise thou seest the very self same things, and that age also is now over and ended. In the like manner consider other periods, both of times, and of whole nations, and see how many men, after they had with all their might and main intended and prosecuted some one worldly thing or other, did soon after drop away, and were resolved into the Elements. But especially thou must call to mind them, whom thou thy self [in thy life-time] hast known much distracted [about vain things,] and in the mean time neglecting to doe that, and closely and unseparably (as fully satisfied with it,) to adhere unto it, which their own proper constitution did require. And here thou must remember, that thy carriage in every business must be according to the worth and due proportion of it; for so shalt thou not easily be [tired out] and vexed, if thou shalt not dwell upon small matters longer than is fitting.

XXVIII. Those words which once were common and ordinary, are now become obscure and obsolete; and so the names of men once commonly known and famous, are now become in a manner obscure and obsolete names. *Camilus*, *Cæso*, *Volesius*, *Leonnatus*; and after a while, *Scipio*, *Cato*, then *Augustus*, then *Adrianus*, then *Antoninus Pius*: All these in a short time will be out of date, and [*as things of another world as it were,*] become fabulous. And this I say of them who once shined as the wonders of their Ages; for as for the rest, no sooner are they expired, than with them all their fame and memory. And what is it then that shall always be remembred? all is vanity. What is it that we must bestow our care and diligence upon? even upon this onely: That our minds and wills be just; that our actions be charitable; that our speech be never deceitfull; or, [*that our understanding be not subject to error*]; that our inclination be always set to embrace whatsoever shall happen unto us, as necessary, as usual, as ordinary; as flowing from such a beginning, and such a fountain, [*from which but thou thy self, and all things are.*] Willingly therefore and wholly surrender up thy self unto that fatal concatenation, yielding up thy self unto the Fates to be disposed of at their pleasure.

See the
Pref. to-
wards the
end.

XXIX. Whatsoever is now present, and from day to day hath its existence; all objects of memories, and the minds and memories themselves, incessantly consider; all things that are have their being by change and alteration.

thy self therefore often to meditate upon this, that the Nature of the Universe delights in nothing more, than in altering those things that are, and in making others like unto them. So that we may say, that whatsoever is, is but as it were the seed of that which shall be. For if thou think that that onely is seed, which either the earth or the womb receiveth, thou art very simple.

XXX. Thou art now ready to dye, and yet hast thou not attained to that perfect simplicity? thou art yet subject to many troubles and perturbations; not yet free from all fear and suspicion of external accidents; nor yet either so meekly disposed towards all men, as thou shouldest; or so affected as one whose onely study, and onely wisdom is, to be just in all his actions.

XXXI. Behold and observe, what is the state of their rational part; and those that the world doth account wise, see what things they flie and are afraid of; and what things they hunt after.

XXXII. In another man's mind and understanding thy evil cannot subsist, nor in any proper temper or distemper of the natural constitution of thy body, which is but as it were the coat or cottage of thy soul. Wherein then, but in that part of thee, wherein the conceit and apprehension of any misery can subsist? Let not that part therefore admit any such conceit, and then all is well. Though thy body, which is so near it, should either be cut or burnt, or suffer any corruption or putrefaction, yet let that part to which it belongs to judge of these, be

be still at rest; that is, Let her judge this, that whatsoever it is, that equally may happen to a wicked man and to a good man, is neither good nor evil. For that which happens equally to him that lives according to Nature, [*and to him that doth not,*] is neither according to nature, nor against it; [*and by consequent, neither good, nor bad.*]

See B. VI.
n. XXIII.

XXXIII. Ever consider and think upon the world, as being but one living substance, and having but one soul, and how all things in the world are terminated into one sensitive power, [*or, terminate into one general sense,*] and are done by one general motion as it were, and dissolution [*of that one soul;*] and how all things that are, concur in the cause of one another's being; and by what manner of connexion and concatenation all things happen.

XXXIV. What art thou, [*that better and a more vine part excepted,*] but, as Epictetus said well, a wretched soul appointed to carry a carcase up and down?

XXXV. To suffer change can be no hurt, as no benefit it is, by change to attain to being. The age and time of the world is as it were a flood and swift current, consisting of the things that are brought to pass in the world. For as soon as any thing hath appeared, and is passed away, another succeeds; and that also will presently out of sight.

XXXVI. Whatsoever doth happen in the world, is [*in the course of nature*] as usual and ordinary as a Rose in the Spring, and fruit in Summer. Of the same nature is sickness and death.

stander

slander, and lying in wait, and whatsoever else ordinarily doth unto fools use to be occasion either of joy or sorrow. That which succeeds, whatsoever it be, doth always very naturally, and as it were familiarly, follow upon that which was before. For thou must consider the things of the world, not as a loose independent number, consisting merely of necessary events; but as a discreet connexion of things orderly and harmoniously disposed. There is then to be seen in the things of the world, not a bare succession, but an admirable correspondence and affinity.

XXXVII. Let that of *Heraclitus* never be out of thy mind, that the death of earth is water, and the death of water is air, and the death of air is fire; and so on the contrary. Remember him also who was ignorant whither the way did lead, and how that Reason being the thing by which all things in the world are administered, and which men are continually and most inwardly conversant with, yet is the thing which ordinarily they are most in opposition with; and how those things which daily happen among them, cease not daily to be strange unto them; and that we should not either speak or doe any thing, as men in their sleep, [*by opinion and bare imagination:*] for then we think we speak and doe; and that [*we must not be*] as children, who follow their fathers [*example,*] for best reason alledging their bare *ἡ δὲ πρὸ πατέρων*; or, As [*by successive tradition from our fore-fathers*] we have received it.

See num.
XLII.

XXXVIII. Even as if any of the gods should tell thee, thou shalt certainly dye to morrow, or next day, thou wouldst not (except thou wert extremely base and pusillanimous) take it for a great benefit, rather to dye the next day after, than to morrow: (for alas, what is the difference!) so [*for the same reason*] think it no great matter to dye rather many years after, than the very next day.

See notes.

XXXIX. Let it be thy perpetual meditation, how many Physicians who once looked so grim, and so tetrically shrunk their brows upon their Patients, are dead and gone themselves. How many Astrologers, after that in great ostentation they had foretold the death of some others, how many Philosophers, after so many elaborate tracts and volumes concerning either morality, or immortality; how many brave Captains and Commanders, after the death and slaughter of so many; how many Kings and Tyrants, after they had with such horreur and insolency abused their power upon mens lives, as though themselves had been immortal; how many, that I may so speak, whole Cities [*both Men and Towns*], Heliæ, Pompeii, Herchlanum, and others innumerable, are dead and gone. Run them over also, whom thou thy self, one after another, hast known in thy time to drop away. Such and such a one took care of such and such a ones burial; and soon after was buried himself. So one, so another: and all things in a short time. * For herein lieth all indeed, ever to look upon all things that belong unto man, as things for their continuance

* See B. V.
n. XXVII.
B. VII.
num. III.

[that

[that last but] from day to day; [or, that are but for a day:] and for their worth, most vile, and contemptible; as [for example, what is man?] That which but the other day [when he was conceived] was vile * *snivel*; and within few days shall be either an embalmed carcass, or mere ashes. Thus must thou according to [truth and] nature, thoroughly consider, how [man's life] is but for a very moment of time, and so depart meek and contented: even as if a ripe Olive falling, should praise the ground that bare her, and give thanks to the tree that begat her.

See notes.

* Greek *μυῖδεον*.
See B. VI.
num. XI.

XL. Thou must be like a promontory of the sea, against which though the waves beat continually, yet both it self stands, and about it are those swelling waves stilled and quieted.

XLI. Oh, wretched I, to whom this mischance is happened! nay, happy I, to whom this thing being happened, I can continue without grief; neither wounded by that which is present, nor in fear of that which is to come. For, as for this, it might have happened unto any man; but every man having such a thing befallen him, could not have continued without grief. Why then should that rather be an unhappiness, than this a happiness? But however, canst thou, O man, term that unhappiness, which is no mischance to the nature of man? canst thou think that a mischance to the nature of man, which is not contrary to the [end, and] will of his nature? What then hast thou learned to be the will of man's nature? Doth that then which hath happened unto thee, hinder

thee from being just? or magnanimous? or temperate? or wise? or circumspect? or true? or modest? or free? or from any thing else of all those things in the present enjoying and possession whereof the nature of man is fully satisfied, as then enjoying all that is proper unto her? Now to conclude; upon all occasion of sorrow remember henceforth to make use of this *Dogma*, that to undergo this, whatsoever it is that hath happened unto thee, is in very deed no such thing of it self as unhappiness; but that to bear it generously is certainly great happiness.

XLII. It is but an ordinary course one, yet it is a good effectual remedy against the fear of death, for a man to consider in his mind the examples of such, who greedily and covetously (as it were) did for a long time enjoy their lives. What have they got more, than they whose deaths have been untimely? Are not they themselves dead at the last? as *Cadicianus*, *Fabius*, *Julianus*, *Lepidus*, or any other who in their life-time having buried many, were at the last buried themselves. The whole space of any man's life is but little; and as little as it is, with what troubles, with what manner of dispositions, and in the society of how wretched a body must it be passed? Let it be therefore unto thee altogether as a matter of indifferency. For if thou shalt look backward, behold what an infinite Chaos of time doth present it self unto thee; and as infinite a Chaos, if thou shalt look forward. In that which is so infinite, what difference can there be between that which liveth but three days, and * that which liveth three ages?

XLIII.

* Gr. ὁ
 γενν. τῷ
 γεννηθῆναι.
 that is,
 properly,
 thrice Ne-
 stor's age:
 which im-
 porteth
 n. any ages.

XLIII. Let thy course ever be the most compendious way. The most compendious is that which is according to nature: [*that is*] in all both words and deeds, ever to follow that which is most sound and perfect. For such a resolution will free a man from all trouble, strife, dissembling and ostentation.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

IN the morning, when thou findest thy self unwilling to rise, consider with thy self presently, it is to go about a man's work that I am stirred up. Am I then yet unwilling to go about that, for which I my self was born and brought forth into this world? Or was I made for this, to lay me down, and make much of my self in a warm bed? O but this is pleasing. And was it then for this that thou wert born, that thou mightest enjoy pleasure? Was it not in very truth for this, that thou mightest [*always*] be busie and in action? Seest thou not [*how all things in the world besides,*] how every Tree and Plant, how Sparrows and Ants, Spiders and Bees, how all in their kind are intent [*as it were*] orderly to perform whatsoever (towards the preservation of this orderly Universe; or, of this Universe, which doth consist of Order) naturally doth become and belong unto them? And wilt not thou doe that which belongs unto a man to doe? Wilt not thou run to doe that which thy nature doth

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require?

require? But thou must have some rest. Yes, thou must. Nature hath of that also, as well as of eating and drinking, allowed thee a certain stint. But thou goest beyond thy stint, and beyond that which would suffice, and in matter of action, there thou comest short of that which thou mayest. It must needs be therefore, that thou dost not love thy self, for if thou didst, thou wouldst also love thy nature, and that which thy nature doth propose unto her self as her end. Others, as many as take pleasure in their trade and profession, can even pine themselves at their works; and neglect their bodies and their food for it; and dost thou less honour thy nature, than an ordinary mechanick his trade, or a good dancer his art? than a covetous man his silver, and a vain-glorious man applause? These, to whatsoever they take an affection, can be content to want their meat and sleep, to further that every one which they affect: and shall actions tending to the common good of humane society, seem more vile unto thee, or worthy of less respect and intention?

II. How easie a thing is it for a man to put off from him all turbulent adventitious imaginations, and presently to be in perfect rest and tranquillity?

III. Think thy self fit and worthy to speak or to doe any thing that is according to Nature, and let not the reprobach, or report of some that may ensue upon it, [ever] deterre thee. If it be right and honest to be spoken or done, undervalue not thy self so much as to be discouraged from it. As for them, they have their own rational over-
ruling

ruled part, and their own proper inclination; which thou must not stand and look about to take notice of, but go on straight, whither both thine own particular and the common nature do lead thee; and the way of both these is but one.

IV. I continue my course by actions according to nature, untill I fall and cease, breathing out my last breath into that air, by which continually breathed in I did live; and falling upon that earth, out of whose gifts and fruits my father gathered his seed, my mother her blood, and my nurse her milk, out of which for so many years I have been provided, both of meat and drink. And lastly, which beareth me that tread upon it, and beareth with me that so many ways do abuse it, [or, and so freely make use of it, so many ways to so many ends.]

V. No man can admire thee for thy sharp acute language, [*such is thy natural disability that may.*] Be it so: yet there be many other [good] things, for the want of which thou canst not plead the want of natural ability. Let them be seen in thee, which depend wholly from thee; sincerity, gravity, laboriousness, contempt of pleasures; be not querulous, be content with little; be kind, be free; avoid all superfluity; all vain prating; be magnanimous. Dost not thou perceive, how many things there be, which notwithstanding any pretence of natural indisposition and unfitness, thou mightest have performed and exhibited, and yet still thou dost voluntarily continue drooping downwards? Or wilt thou say, that it is through defect

of thy natural constitution, that thou art constrained to murmur, to be base and wretched, to flatter; now to accuse, and now to please, and pacifie thy body: to be vain-glorious, to be so giddy-headed and unsettled in thy thoughts: nay (witnesses be the Gods) of all these thou mightest have been rid long agoe: Onely this thou must have been contented with, to have borne the blame of one that is somewhat slow and dull. Wherein thou must so exercise thy self, as one who neither doth much take to heart this his natural defect, nor yet pleaseth himself in it.

VI. Such there be, who when they have done a good turn to any, are ready to set them on the score for it, [*and to require retaliation.*] Others there be, who though they stand not upon retaliation, to require any, yet they think with themselves nevertheless, that such a one is their debtour, and they know [*as their word is*] what they have done. Others again there be, who when they have done any such thing, do not so much as know what they have done; but are like unto the Vine, which beareth her grapes, and when once she hath borne her own proper fruit, [*is contented*] and seeks for no further recompence. As a Horse after a race, and a Hunting-dog when he hath hunted, and a Bee when she hath made her honey, look not for applause and commendation; so neither doth that man [*that rightly doth understand his own nature*] when he hath done a good turn: but from one doth

See B. IV.
III.

pro.

proceed to doe another, even as the Vine after she hath once born fruit in her own proper season is ready for another time. Thou therefore must be one of them, who what they doe, barely doe it without any farther thought, and are in a manner unsensible of what they doe. Nay, [*but, will some reply perchance*] this very thing a rational man is bound unto, to understand what it is that he doeth. For it is the property, say they, of one that is naturally sociable, to be sensible that he doth operate sociably: nay, and to desire, that the party himself that is sociably dealt with, should be sensible of it too. [*I answer,*] That which thou sayest is true indeed, but the true meaning of that which is said thou dost not understand. And therefore art thou one of those first whom I mentioned. For they also are led by a probable appearance of reason. But if thou dost desire to *understand truly* what it is that is said, fear not that thou shalt therefore give over any sociable action.

VII. The form of the *Athenian's* prayer did run thus; *O rain, rain, good Jupiter, upon all the grounds and fields that belong to the Athenians.* Either we should not pray at all, or more absolutely and freely; [*and not every one for himself and his own onely.*]

VIII. As we say commonly, The Physician hath *prescribed* unto this man riding; unto another cold baths; unto a third, to go bare-foot: so it is alike to say, The Nature of the Universe hath prescribed unto this man sickness, or blindness, or some loss or damage, or some such thing. For as there, when we say of a Physician

Physician that he hath *prescribed* any thing, the meaning is, that he hath appointed this for thee as subordinate and conducing to health: so here, whatsoever doth happen unto any, is ordained unto him as a thing subordinate unto the Fates, and therefore do we say of such things, that they do *συμβαίνειν*, that is, *happen*, or, *fall together*; as of square stones, when either in walls or pyramids in a certain position they fit one another, and agree as it were in an harmony, the Masons say, that they doe *συμβαίνειν*; as if thou should'st say, *fall together*: so that in the general, [*though the things be divers that make it*] yet the consent or harmony it self is but one. And as the whole world is made up of all the particular bodies in it, one perfect and complete body, of the same nature that particular bodies are of; so is the Destiny of particular causes [*and events*] one general one, of the same nature that particular causes are. What I now say, even they that are mere Idiots are not ignorant of: for they say commonly *τοῦτο ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ*, that is, *This his Destiny hath brought upon him*. This therefore is [*by the Fates*] properly and particularly *brought* upon this, as that unto this [*in particular*] is by the Physician prescribed. These therefore let us accept of in like manner, as we doe those that are prescribed unto us by our Physicians: For them also in themselves shall we find to contain many harsh things, but we nevertheless, in hope of health and recovery, accept of them. Let the fulfilling and accomplishment of those things which the common nature hath determined, be unto thee

due as thy health. Accept then, and be pleased with whatsoever doth happen, though otherwise harsh and unpleasing, as tending to that end, to the health and welfare of the Universe, and to *Jove's* happiness and prosperity. For this, whatsoever it be, should not have been *produced*, had it not ^b *conduced* to the good of the Universe. For neither doth any ordinary particular nature bring any thing to pass, that is not to whatsoever is within the sphere of its own proper administration and government agreeable and subordinate. For these two considerations then thou must be well pleased with any thing that doth happen unto thee. First, because that for thee properly it was brought to pass, and unto thee it was prescribed; and that from the very beginning by the *series* and connexion of the first causes, it hath ever had a reference unto thee. And secondly, because the good success and perfect welfare, and indeed the very continuance of Him that is the Administrator of the whole, doth in a manner depend on it. For the *whole* (because *whole*, therefore entire and perfect :) is maimed and mutilated, if thou shalt cut off any thing at all, whereby the coherence and contiguity (as of parts, so) of causes is maintained and preserved. Of which certain it is, that thou dost (as much as lieth in thee,) cut off, and in some sort violently take somewhat away, as often as thou art displeased [*wish any thing that happeneth.*]

IX. Be not discontented, be not disheartned, be not out of hope, if often it succeed not so well with thee punctually and precisely to doe all

all things according to the right *dogmata*; but being once cast off, *return unto* them again: and as for those many and more frequent occurrences [*either of worldly distractions, or human infirmities,*] which as a man thou canst not but in some measure be subject unto, be not thou discontented with them; but however, love and affect that [*onely*] which thou dost *return unto*: [*a Philosopher's life, and proper occupation after the most exact manner.*] And when thou dost return to thy Philosophy, return not unto it [*as the manner of some is after play and liberty as it were,*] to their School-Masters and Pedagogues; but as they that have sore eyes to their sponge and egg; or as another to his cataplasm; or as others to their fomentations: so shalt not thou make it a matter of ostentation at all to obey reason; but of ease and comfort. And remember that Philosophy requireth nothing of thee, but what thy nature requireth; and wouldest thou thy self desire any thing that is not according to nature? for which of these [*sayest thou; that which is according to Nature, or against it,*] is of it self more kind and pleasing? Is it not for that respect especially, that pleasure it self is to so many mens hurt and overthrow, most prevalent, [*because esteemed commonly most kind and natural?*] But consider well whether magnanimity rather, and true liberty, and true simplicity, and equanimity, and holiness; whether these be not most kind and natural. And prudence it self, what more kind and amiable than it, when thou shalt truly consider with thy self, what it

is through all the proper objects of thy rational intellectual faculty, currently to goe on without any fall or stumble? As for the things of the world, their true nature is in a manner so involved with obscurity, that unto many Philosophers, and those no mean ones, they seemed altogether incomprehensible; and even to the Stoicks themselves, scarce, and not without much difficulty comprehensible; so that all assent of ours is fallible; for who is he that is infallible [*in his conclusions?*] From the nature of things, pass now unto their subjects and matter: how temporary, how vile are they? such as may be in the power and possession of some abominable loose liver, of some common strumpet, of some notorious oppressour and extortioner. Pass from thence to the dispositions of them that thou dost ordinarily converse with, how hardly do we bear even with the most loving and amiable? that I may not say, how hard it is for us to bear even with our own selves. In such obscurity and impurity [*of things,*] in such [*and so continual*] a flux both of the substances and time, both of the motions themselves and things moved, what it is that we can fasten upon; either to honour and respect especially, or seriously and studiously to seek after; I cannot so much as conceive. For indeed they are things contrary.

X. Thou must comfort thy self in the expectation of thy natural dissolution, and [*in the mean time*] not grieve at the delay; but rest contented in those two things. First, that nothing shall happen unto thee, which is not according to the nature of the Universe. Secondly,

condly, that it is in thy power, to doe nothing against thine own proper god, and [inward] Spirit. For it is not in any man's power to constrain thee to transgress against him.

XI. What is the use that now at this present I make of my soul? Thus from time to time and upon all occasions thou must put this question to thy self, What is now that part of mine which they call the rational mistress part, imployed about? Whose soul do I now properly possess? a child's? or a youth's? a woman's? or a tyrant's? some brute's, or some wild beast's soul?

See the
notes.

XII. What those things are in themselves, which by the greatest part are esteemed good, thou mayest gather even from this. For if a man shall hear things mentioned as good, which are really good indeed, such as are prudence, temperance, justice, fortitude; after so much heard and conceived, he cannot endure to hear of any more; for the word good is properly spoken of them. But as for those which by the vulgar are esteemed good, if he shall hear them mentioned as good, he doth hearken for more. He is well contented to hear that what is spoken by the Comedian, is but familiarly and popularly spoken; so that even the vulgar apprehend the difference. For why is it else, that this offends not and needs not to be excused, [when virtues are styled good:] but that which is spoken in commendation of wealth, pleasure, or honour, we entertain it onely as merrily and pleasantly spoken? Proceed therefore, and enquire farther, whether it may not be that those things also, which being mentioned [upon the

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As the onely things which made a man truly rich and happy,] were merrily [and with great applause of the multitude] scoffed at with this jest, that they that possessed them, had not in all the world of their own (such was their affluence and plenty) so much as a place where to void their increments: Whether, I say, these ought [not] also in very deed to be much respected, and deemed of as the onely things that are truly good.

XIII. All that I consist of, is either form or matter. No corruption can reduce either of these unto nothing: for neither did I of nothing become a subsistent creature. Every part of mine then, will by mutation be disposed into a certain part of the whole world; and that in time into another part; and so *in infinitum*: by which kind of mutation, I also became what I am, and so did they that begot me, and they before them, and so upwards *in infinitum*. For we may be allowed to speak, though the age and government of the world be to some certain periods of time limited and confined.

XIV. Reason, and rational power, are faculties which content themselves with themselves, and their own proper operations. And as for their first inclination and motion, that they take from themselves. But their progress is right to the end and object, which is in their way, as it were, and lieth just before them: [that is, which is feasible and possible, whether it be that which at the first they proposed to themselves, or] For which reason also such actions are termed *κατὰ σκοπόν*, to intimate the directness of

See B. IV.
n. I.
B. V. n.
XVII.
B. VI. n.
XLV.

of the way, [*by which they are achieved.*] No thing must be thought to belong to a man, which doth not belong unto him as he is a man. These [*the event of purposes*] are not things required in a man. The nature of man doth not profess any such things. The final ends and consummations [*of actions*] are nothing at all to a man's nature. The end therefore of a man, or that *summum bonum* whereby that end is fulfilled, cannot consist in the consummation of actions [*purposed and intended.*] Again, concerning these [*outward worldly*] things, were it so that any of them did properly belong unto man, then would it not belong unto man to condemn them, and to stand in opposition with them. Neither would he be praise-worthy that can live without them; or he good, (if there were good indeed,) who of his own accord doth deprive himself of any of them. But we see contrarywise, that the more a man doth withdraw himself from these [*wherein external pomp and greatness doth consist,*] or any other like these, or the better he doth bear with the loss of these, the better he is accounted.

XV. Such as thy thoughts and ordinary cogitations are, such will thy mind be in time. For the soul doth as it were receive its tincture from the phancies and imaginations. Dye it therefore and thoroughly soke it with the assiduity of the cogitations. As for example. Wheresoever thou mayest live, there it is in thy power to live well and happy: But thou mayest live at the Court there then also mayest thou live well and happy. Again, that which every thing is made for, he is a

made unto that, and cannot but naturally incline unto it. That which any thing doth naturally incline unto, therein is his end. Wherein the end of every thing doth consist, therein also doth his good and benefit consist. Society therefore is the proper good of a rational creature: For that we are made for society, it hath long since been demonstrated. Or can any man make any question of this, that whatsoever is naturally worse and inferiour, is ordinarily subordinated to that which is better? and that those things that are best, are made one for another? and those things that have souls, are better than those that have none? and of those that have, those best that have rational souls?

XVI. To desire things impossible is the part of a mad-man: But it is a thing impossible that wicked men should not commit some such things. Neither doth any thing happen to any man, which in the ordinary course of nature as general unto him doth not happen. Again, the same things happen unto others also. And truly, if either he that is ignorant, that such a thing hath happened unto him, or he that is ambitious to be commended for his magnanimity, can be patient, and is not grieved; is it not a grievous thing, that either ignorance, or a vain desire to please and to be commended, should be more powerfull and effectual than true prudence? As for the things themselves, they touch not the soul, neither can they have any access unto it: neither can they of themselves any ways either affect it or move it: For she her self alone can affect and move her self, and according

See Note
upon B. IV.
n. III.

See B. VI.
n. VII.

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ding as the *Dogmata* and opinions are, which she doth vouchsafe her self, to are those things which, as accellories, have any co-existence with her.

See B. IV. n. I.

XVII. After one consideration, man is near unto us; as we are bound to doe them good and to bear with them: but as he may oppose any of our true proper actions, so man is unto me but as a thing indifferent; even as the Sun, or the Wind, or some wild Beast. Some of these it may be, that some operation other of mine may be hindered; however, my mind and resolution it self there can no lett or impediment, by reason of that ordinary constant, both *Reservation* [wherein it inclineth,] and ready *Conversion* [of objects from that which may not be, to that which may be, which in the prosecution of its inclination as occasion serves, it doth observe.] For by this the mind doth turn and convert any impediment whatsoever, to be her aim and purpose. So that what before was the impediment, is now the principal object of her working; and that which before was in her way, is now her relict way.

See B. IV. n. III.

XVIII. Honour that which is chiefest and most powerfull in the world, and that is which makes use of all things, and governs all things, [and] So also in thy self, Honour that which is chiefest, and most powerfull, and is of one kind and nature with that, [which we speak of.] For it is the very same, which being in thee, turneth all other things to its own

See B. IV. n. VII.

use, and by whom also thy life is governed.
 XIX. That which doth not hurt the City it
 cannot hurt any Citizen. This rule thou
 remember to apply and make use of upon
 every conceit and apprehension of wrong. If
 the whole City be not hurt by this, neither
 certainly. And if the whole be not, why
 should I make it my private grievance? [con-
 sider] what it is wherein he is overseen
 that is thought to have done the wrong. [Again,]
 then meditate how swiftly all things that sub-
 sist, and all things that are done in the world,
 are carried away, and as it were convelghed
 out of sight: For both the substances them-
 selves, (we see) as a floud, are in a continual
 change; and all actions in a perpetual change;
 the causes themselves subject to a thousand
 variations: neither is there any thing almost,
 that may ever be said to be now settled and
 constant. Next unto this, and which follows
 on it, [consider] both the infiniteness of the
 time already passed, and the immense vastness
 of that which is to come, wherein all things are
 to be resolved, and annihilated. Art not thou
 then a very fool, who for these things art
 puffed up with pride, or distracted with
 fears, or canst find in thy heart to make such
 murtherous, as for a thing that would trouble thee
 a very long time? Consider the whole
 universe, whereof thou art but a very little
 part, and the whole age of the world together,
 whereof but a short and very momentary por-
 tion is allotted unto thee; and all the Fates and
 fortunes together, of which how much is it that

* See the
 Latine
 notes.
 See n. 8. &
 29. of this
 book; and
 in the Ta-
 ble, the
 World, as
 a City.

comes to thy part and share! [*Again:*] Another doth trespass against me. Let him look to that. He is master of his own disposition and of his own operation. I for my part am in the mean time in possession of as much as the common nature would have me to possess: and that which mine own nature would have me do I do.

XX. Let not that chief commanding part of thy soul be ever subject to any variation through any corporal either pain or pleasure, neither suffer it to be mixed with these, but let it be circumscribe it self, and confine those affections to their own proper parts and members. But if at any time they do reflect and rebound upon the mind and understanding, (as in a united and compacted body it must needs,) then must thou not go about to resist sense and feeling, it being natural. However let not thy understanding [*to this natural sense and feeling, which whether unto our flesh pleasure or painfull, is unto us nothing properly,*] take an opinion of either good or bad, [*and as is well.*]

See notes.

XXI. *To live with the Gods.* He liveth with the Gods, who at all times affords unto thee the spectacle of a soul both contented and well pleased with whatsoever is afforded or allotted unto her; and performing whatsoever is pleasing to that Spirit, whom (being part of himself) *Jove* hath appointed to every man as his overseer and governour; which is every man's Intellect and Reason.

XXII. Be not angry, neither with him who

breath

breath, neither with him whose *ala* [or *arme-*
[*hale*] are offensive. What can he doe? such
is his breath [naturally,] and such are his *ala*;
and from such, such an effect, and such a smell
must of necessity proceed. O! but the man,
(sayest thou) hath understanding in him, and
might of himself know, that he by standing
near cannot chuse but offend. And thou also
(God bless thee,) hast understanding. Let
thy reasonable faculty work upon his reason-
able faculty; shew him his fault, admonish
him. If he hearken unto thee, thou shalt cure
him; and there will be no more occasion of an-

XXIII. *Where there shall neither roarer be, nor* Sec B. IV.
harlot. [Why so?] As thou dost purpose to n. III. and
live, when thou hast retired thy self [to some the notes
such place, where neither roarer nor harlot is:] upon this
so mayest thou here. And if they will not suf- place.
fer thee, then mayest thou leave thy life [rather
than thy calling,] but so as one that doth not
think himself any ways wronged. Onely as one
would say, Here is a smoak; I will not out of
it. And what a great matter is this? Now till
some such thing force me out, I will continue
free; neither shall any man hinder me to doe
what I will, and my Will shall ever be by the
proper nature of a reasonable and sociable crea-
ture regulated and directed.

XXIV. That rational Essence by which the
Universe is grounded, is for community and so-
ciety; and therefore hath it both made the
things that are worse for the best, and hath
allied and knit together those which are best

as, it were in an harmony. Seest thou not how it hath subordinated, and co-ordinated? and how it hath distributed unto every thing according to its worth? and those which have the pre-eminency and superiority above all, hath it united together into a mutual consent and agreement.

XXV. How hast thou carried thy self hitherto towards the Gods? towards thy Parents? towards thy Brethren? towards thy Wife? towards thy Children? towards thy Masters? thy foster-Fathers? thy Friends? thy Domesticks? thy Servants? Is it so with thee; that hitherto thou hast neither by word or deed wronged any of them? Remember withal through how many things thou hast already passed, and how many thou hast been able to endure, so that now the *Legend* of thy life is full, and thy charge is accomplished. Again how many truly good things have certainly by thee been discerned? how many pleasures, how many pains hast thou passed over with contempt? how many things [externally] glorious hast thou despised? towards how many perverse unreasonable men hast thou carried thy self kindly and discreetly?

XXVI. Why should imprudent, unlearned souls trouble thee which is both learned and prudent? And which is that that is so? that that understandeth the beginning and the end, and hath the true knowledge of that rational Essence that passeth through all things subsisting, and through all ages [being ever the same] disposing and dispensing (as it were)

this

the Univerſe by certain periods of time
 XXVII. Within a very little while, thou wilt
 be either aſhes, or a ſkeleton, and a Name, per-
 durance; and perchance, not ſo much as a Name.
 And what is that but an *emitted* ſound, and a
 rebounding Echo? Thoſe things which in this
 life are deareſt unto us, and of moſt account,
 they are *in themſelves* but vain, putrid, con-
 temptible. *The moſt mighty and ſerious, if See B.VII.*
highly eſteemed, but as puppies biting one num. III.
 another; or untoward children, now laughing,
 and then crying. As for faith, and modeſty,
 and juſtice, and truth, *they long ſince [as one of*
Poets hath it] have abandoned this ſpacious
 Earth, and retired themſelves into Heaven. What
 is it then that doth keep thee here, if things
 ſeemable be ſo mutable and unſettled, and the
 ſouls ſo obſcure, and ſo fallible, and our Souls
 nothing but an exhalation of blood, and to be
 in credit among ſuch, be but vanity? What is
 it that thou doſt ſtay for? an Extinction, or a
 Translation: for either of them with a propiti-
 ous and contented mind. But till that time come,
 what will content thee? what elſe, but to wor-
 ſhip and praiſe the gods, and to doe good unto
 men; to bear with them, and to forbear to doe
 them any wrong; and for all external things
 belonging either to this thy wretched body, or
 to remember that they are neither thine, nor
 in thy power?
 XXVIII. Thou mayeſt always ſpeed, if thou
 wilt but make choice of the right way: if in the
 courſe both of thine opinions and actions, thou
 wilt obſerve a true method. Theſe two things

be common to the souls, as of God, so of men, and of every reasonable creature: first, that *[in their own proper work]* they cannot be hindered by any thing: and secondly, that their happiness doth consist in a disposition to, and in the practice of righteousness; and that in these their desire is terminated.

XXIX. If this *[that makes my friend to lament]* neither be my wicked act, nor an act in any ways depending from any wickedness of mine, and that by it the publick *[or, Universe]* is not hurt; what doth it concern me? And wherein can the publick be hurt? For thou must not altogether be carried by conceit *[and common opinion.]* As for help, thou must afford that unto them after thy best ability, and as their need shall require, though they sustain damage but in these middle *[or, worldly]* things; but however do not thou conceive that they are truly hurt thereby: for that is not right. But as that old foster-Father *[in the Comedy]* being now to take his leave, doth *[with a great deal of Ceremony]* require this foster-Child's *rhombus*, *[or, rattle-top, that he was wont to play with, for a remembrance of him;]* remembering nevertheless that it is but a *rhombus*, *[a rattle, or a bawble:]* so here also *[doe thou likewise.]* For indeed what is all this solemn declaiming and exclaiming at the *Rosbra* *[if it be rightly considered?]* O man! hast thou forgotten what those things are? yea, but they are things that others much care for, and highly esteem of. Will thou therefore be a fool too? Once I was *[less than sufficient]*.

See num.
XIX. and
B.X. n.VI.

XXX. Let death surprize me when it will, and where it will, I may be *happy* [or, a happy man] nevertheless. For he is a happy man, who [in his life-time] dealeth unto himself a happy lot and portion. A happy lot and portion is good inclinations of the soul, good desires, good actions.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE matter it self of which the Universe doth consist, is of it self very tractable and pliable. That rational Essence that doth govern it, hath in it self no cause to doe evil. It hath no evil [in it self,] neither can it doe any thing that is evil; neither can any thing be hurt by it. And all things are done and determined according to its will and prescript.

II. Be it all one unto thee, whether half frozen or well warm; whether onely slumbering or after a full sleep; whether discommended or commended thou doe thy duty; or whether dying or doing somewhat else; for that also *to dye*, must among the rest be reckoned as one of the duties and actions of our lives. [Whensoever then the time of that duty shall be,] then also must it suffice thee [to make thee happy] that then thou dost well acquit thy self of that present duty; [or, that the present time is spent by thee upon a good action.]

III. Look in, let not either the proper quality,

or

or the true worth of any thing pass thee, [before thou hast fully apprehended it.]

IV. All substances come soon to their change and either they shall be resolved by way of exhalation, (if so be that all things shall be re-united into one substance,) or [as others maintain] they shall be scattered and dispersed. As for that Rational Essence by which all things are governed, as it best understandeth it self, both its own disposition, and what it doeth, and what matter it hath to doe with, [and accordingly doth all things; so we that doe not, no wonder, if we wonder at many things, the reasons whereof we cannot comprehend.]

V. The best kind of revenge is, not to become like unto them.

See B. V.
p. XVI.

VI. Let this be thy onely joy, and thy onely comfort, from one loathable [kind] action [without intermission] to pass unto another, God being ever in thy mind.

VII. The rational commanding part, as it alone can stir up and turn it self; so it maketh both it self to be, and every thing that happeneth, to appear unto it self as it will it self.

VIII. According to the nature of the Universe all things [particular] are determined, not according to any other nature, either about compassing and containing; or within, dispersed and contained; or without, depending. Either this Universe is a mere confused mass, and an intricate context of things, which shall in time be scattered and dispersed again: or it is an Union consisting of Order, and administrated by providence. If the first, why should I desire

to continue any longer in this *formis* confusion and commotion? or why should I take care for any thing else, but that as soon as may be I may be Earth [again?]. And why should I trouble my self any more [*whilst I seek to please the gods?*] Whatsoever I doe, Dissipation is my end; and will come upon me whether I will or no. But if the latter be, then am I religious in vain; then will I be quiet and patient, and put my trust in Him who is the Governour of all.

IX. Whensoever by some present hard occurrences thou art constrained to be as if were troubled and vexed; return unto thy self as soon as may be, and be not out of tune longer than thou must needs: For so shalt thou be the better able to keep thy part another time, and to maintain the harmony, if thou dost use thy self to this continually; once out, presently to have recourse unto it, and to begin again.

X. If it were that thou hadst at one time both a stepmother and a natural mother living, thou wouldst honour and respect her also; nevertheless to thine own natural mother would thy refuge and recourse be continually. So let the Court and thy Philosophy be unto thee. Have recourse unto it often, and comfort thy self in her, by whom it is that those other things are made tolerable unto thee, and thou also in those things not intolerable unto others.

XI. How marvellous usefull is it for a man to represent unto himself meats, and all such things that are for the mouth, under a right apprehension

prehension and imagination? as for examples: This is the carcass of a Fish, this of a Bird, and this of a Hog. And again more generally; This *Falernum*, [this excellent highly commended wine,] is but the bare juice of an ordinary Grape. This purple robe, but Sheeps hairs, dyed with the blood of a Shell-fish. So for *coitus*, it is but the attrition of an ordinary base entrail; and the excretion of a little *vile snivel*, with a certain kind of convulsion: [according to Hippocrates his opinion.] How excellent usefull are these lively Fancies and Representations of things, thus penetrating and passing through the objects, to make their true nature known and apparent! This must thou use all thy life long, and upon all occasions; and then especially, when matters are apprehended as of great worth and respect, [thy art and care must be] to uncover them, and to behold their vileness, and to take away from them all those serious circumstances and expressions, under which they made so grave a shew. For outward pomp and appearance is a great juggler; and then especially art thou most in danger to be beguiled by it, when (to a man's thinking) thou most seemest to be employed about matters of moment.

XII. See what Crates pronounceth concerning Xenocrates himself.

XIII. Those things which the common sort of People do admire, are most of them such things as are very general; and may be comprehended under things merely natural, or naturally affected and qualified: as stones, wood, figs, vines, olives. Those that be admired by them that are

more

* Greek
 μωραειν.
 Sec B. IV.
 B. xxxix.

Gr. ὁ νόσος.
 Sec B. III.
 B. VII.

more moderate and restrained, are comprehended under things animated; as flocks and herds. Those that are yet more gentle and curious, their admiration is commonly confined to reasonable creatures onely; not in general as they are reasonable, but as they are capable of art, or of some craft and subtile invention: or perchance barely to reasonable creatures; as they that delight in the possession of many slaves. But he that honours a reasonable soul in general, as it is reasonable and naturally sociable, doth little regard any thing else; and above all things is carefull to preserve his own in the continual habit and exercise both of reason and sociableness: and thereby doth co-operate with him, of whose nature he doth also participate; [*God.*]

XIV. Some things hasten to be, and others to be no more. And even whatsoever now is, some part thereof hath already perished. Perpetual fluxes and alterations renew the world, as the perpetual course of time doth make the age of the world (of it self infinite) to appear always fresh and new. In such a flux and course of all things, what of these things that hasten so fast away should any man regard, since among all there is not any that a man may fasten and fix upon? as if a man would settle his affection upon some ordinary Sparrow flying by him, who is no sooner seen, than out of sight. For we must not think otherwise of our lives than as a mere exhalation of blood, or of an ordinary respiration of air. For what [*in our common apprehension*] it is, to breathe in the air, and to breathe it out again, which we doe daily; so much is it and no more, at once to breathe

breathe out all thy respirative faculty into that common air from whence but lately (as being but from yesterday and to day,) thou didst first breathe it in, and with it, life.

XV. Not vegetative spiration, it is not surely (which Plants have) that [*in this life*] should be so dear unto us; nor sensitive respiration, the proper life of beasts, both tame and wild; nor this our imaginative faculty; nor that we are subject to be led and carried up and down by the strength and violence of our sensual appetites; or that we can assemble and live together; or that we can feed: for that in effect is no better, than that we can void the excrements of our food. What is it then that should be dear unto us? to hear a clattering noise? if not that, then neither to be applauded by the tongues of men. For the praises of many tongues is in effect no better than the clattering of so many tongues. If then neither applause, what is there remaining that should be dear unto thee? This I think; that [*in all thy motions and actions*] thou be moved, and restrained, according to thine own true natural constitution and construction only. And to this even ordinary arts and professions do lead us: For it is that which every art doth aim at, that whatsoever it is that is by art effected and prepared, may be fit for that work that it is prepared for. This is the end that he that dresseth the Vine, and he that takes upon him either to tame Colts, or to train up Dogs, doth aim at. What else doth the education of Children, and all learned professions

passions tend unto? Certainly then it is that which should be dear unto us also. If in this particular it go well with thee, care not for the obtaining of other things. But is it so, that thou canst not but respect other things also? Then canst not thou be truly free; then canst thou not have self-content; then wilt thou ever be subject to passions. For it is not possible but that thou must be envious, and jealous, and suspicious of them who [thou knowest] can bereave thee of such things; and again, a secret underminer of them whom thou seest in present possession of that which is dear unto thee. To be short, he must of necessity be full of confusion within himself, and often accuse the gods, whosoever stands in need of these things. But if thou shalt honour and respect thy mind onely, that will make thee acceptable towards thyself, towards thy friends very tractable, and conformable and concordant with the gods; that is, accepting with praises whatsoever they shall think good to appoint and allot unto thee.

See note 9. upon the II. B. out of Epictetus, and the XXXVI. of this VI. B.

XVI. Under, above, and about, are the motions of the Elements; but the motion of vertue is none of those motions, but is somewhat more excellent and divine: Whose way (to speed and prosper in it) must be through a way that is not easily comprehended.

See Job 28. 1, 2. to 12, 13, &c.

XVII. Who can chuse but wonder at them? They will not speak well of them that are at the same time with them, and live with them: yet they themselves are very ambitious,

ous,

ous, that they that shall follow, whom they have never seen, nor shall ever see, should speak well of them. As if a man should grieve that he hath not been commended by them that lived before him.

XVIII. Do not ever conceive any thing impossible to man, which by thee cannot, or not without much difficulty, be effected; but whatsoever in general thou canst conceive possible and proper unto any man, think that very possible unto thee also.

XIX. Suppose that at the *Palestra* [or fencing-school] some body hath all torn thee with his nails, and hath broken thy head. Well, thou art wounded. Yet thou dost not exclaim; thou art not offended with him. Thou dost not suspect him for it afterwards, as one that watcheth to doe thee a mischief. Yea, even then, though thou dost thy best to save thy self from him, yet not from him as an enemy. It is not by way of any suspicious indignation, but by way of gentle and friendly declining. Keep the same mind and disposition in other parts of thy life also. For many things there be, which we must conceit and apprehend, as though we had had to doe with an antagonist at the *Palestra*. For, as I said, it is very possible for us to avoid and decline, though we neither suspect nor hate.

XX. If any body shall reprove me, and shall make it apparent unto me, that in any either opinion or action of mine I do err, I will most gladly retract. For it is the truth that I seek after, by which I am sure that never

never any man was hurt; and as sure, that he is hurt that continueth in any error or ignorance whatsoever.

XXI. I for my part will doe what belongs unto me: as for other things, whether things insensible or things irrational; or if rational, yet deceived and ignorant of the true way, they shall not trouble or distract me. For as for those creatures which are not indued with reason, and all other things and matters of the world whatsoever, I freely and generously, as one indued with reason, of things that have none, make use of them. And as for men, towards them, as naturally partakers of the same reason, my care is to carry my self sociably. But whatsoever it is that thou art about, remember to call upon the gods. And as for the time, how long thou shalt live to doe these things, let it be altogether indifferent unto thee, for even three such hours are sufficient.

XXII. *Alexander of Macedon*, and he that dressed his Mules, when once dead, both came to one pass. For either they were both resumed into those original rational essences from whence all things in the world are propagated; or both after one fashion were scattered into Atoms.

XXIII. Consider how many different things, whether they concern our bodies, or our souls, in a moment of time come to pass in every one of us; and so thou wilt not wonder if many more things, or rather all things that are done, can at one time subsist, and co-exist in that both *One* and *General*, which we call the *World*.

See B. IV.
n. xxxiiij.

XXIV. If any should put this question unto thee, how this word *Antoninus* is written, wouldst thou not presently fix thine intention upon it, and utter out in order every letter of it? And if any shall begin to gain-say thee, and quarrel with thee about it; wilt thou quarrel with him again, or rather go on meekly as thou hast begun, untill thou hast numbred out every letter? Here then likewise remember, that every duty that belongs unto a man doth consist of some certain letters or numbers as it were, to which without any noise or tumult keeping thy self, thou must orderly proceed to thy proposed end, forbearing to quarrel with him that would quarrel and fall out with thee.

XXV. Is it not a cruel thing to forbid men to affect those things which they conceive to agree best with their own natures, and to tend most to their own proper good and behoof? But thou after a sort deniest them this liberty, as often as thou art angry with them for their sins. For surely they are led unto those sins, whatsoever they be, as to their proper good and commodity. But it is not so [*thou wilt object perchance; and they are deceived.*] Thou therefore teach them better, and make it appear unto them: but be not thou angry with them.

XXVI. Death is a cessation from the impressions of the senses, the tyranny of the passions, the errors of the mind, and the servitude of the body.

XXVII. If in this kind of life thy body be able to hold out, it is a shame that thy soul should

should faint first, and give over. Take heed, lest [of a *Philosopher*] thou become a [mere] *Cesar* in time, and receive a new tincture [from the *Court*.] For it may happen, [if thou dost not take heed.] Keep thy self therefore truly simple, good, sincere, grave, free from all ostentation; a lover of that which is just, religious, kind, tender-hearted, strong and vigorous to undergo any thing that becomes thee. Endeavour to continue such as *Philosophy* [hadst thou wholly and constantly applied thy self unto] would have made and secured thee. Worship the gods; procure the welfare of men: this life is short. Charitable actions, and a holy disposition, is the onely fruit of this earthly life.

XXVIII. Doe all things as becometh the Discipline of *Antoninus* [Pius.] Remember his resolute constancy [in things that were done by him according to reason, his equability in all things, his sanctity, the chearfulness of his countenance, his sweetness, and how free he was from all vain-glory; how carefull to come to the true and exact knowledge of matters in hand, and how he would by no means give over till he did fully and plainly understand the whole state of the business: and how patiently and without any contestation he would bear with them that did unjustly condemn him: how he would never be over-hasty in any thing; nor give ear to slanders and false accusations, but examine and observe with best diligence the several actions and dispositions of men. Again, how he was

no back-biter; not easily frightened, not suspicious, and in his language free from all affectation and curiosity: and how easily he would content himself with few things, as lodging, bedding, cloathing, and ordinary nourishment and attendance. How able to endure labour, how patient; able through his spare diet to continue from morning to evening without any necessity of withdrawing before his accustomed hours to the necessities of nature: his uniformity and constancy in matter of friendship. How he would bear with them that with all boldness and liberty opposed his opinions; and even rejoice if any man could better advise him: and lastly, how religious he was without superstition. [*All these things of mine remember,*] that whenever thy last hour shall come upon thee, it may find thee, as it did him, [*ready for it*] in the possession of a good conscience.

* Gr. ἐν-
συνείδητῳ.

XXIX. Stir up thy mind, and recall thy wits again [*from thy natural dreams and visions*]; and when thou art perfectly awaken'd, and canst perceive that they were but dreams that troubled thee, as one newly awakened [*out of another kind of sleep*], look upon these worldly things with the same mind as thou didst upon those, [*that thou sawest in thy sleep*].

XXX. I consist of body and soul: unto my body all things are indifferent, for of it self it cannot affect one thing more than another with apprehension of any difference; as for my mind, all things which are not within

within the verge of her own operation, are indifferent unto her, and for her own operations, those altogether depend of her; neither doth she busie herself about any, but those that are present; for as for future and passed operations, those also are now at this present indifferent unto her.

XXXI. As long as the foot doth that which belongeth unto it to doe, and the hand that which belongs unto it, their labour, whatsoever it be, is not unnatural. So a man as long as he doth that which is proper unto a man, his labour cannot be against nature; and if it be not against nature, then neither is it hurtfull unto him. [*But if it were so that happiness did consist in pleasure,*] how came notorious robbers, impure, abominable livers, paricides and tyrants, in so large a measure to have their part of pleasures?

XXXII. Dost thou not see, how even those that profess mechanick arts; though in some respect they be no better than mere Idiots, yet they stick close to the course of their trade, neither can they find in their heart to decline from it? And is it not a grievous thing that an Architect, or a Physician shall respect the course and mysteries of their profession, more than a man the proper course and condition of his own nature, Reason, which is common to him and the gods?

XXXIII. *Asia, Europe*, what are they, but as corners of the whole world? of which the whole Sea is but as one drop; and the great mount

See B.VII.
p. XLIV.

Altho but as a clod, as all present time is but as one point of eternity. All, petty things; all, things that are soon altered, soon perished. And all things come from one beginning; either all severally and particularly deliberated and resolved upon, by the general Ruler and Governour of all; or all by necessary consequence. So that the dreadfull *hiatus* of a gaping Lion, and all poison, and all hurtfull things, are but (as the thorn and the mire) the necessary consequences of goodly fair things. Think not of these therefore, as things contrary to those which thou dost much honour and respect; but consider in thy mind the true fountain of all.

XXXIV. He that seeth the things that are now, hath seen all that either was ever, or ever shall be; for all things are of one kind, and all like one unto another. Meditate often upon the connexion of all things in the World; and upon the mutual relation that they have one unto another. For all things are after a sort folded and involved one within another, and by these means all agree well together. For one thing is consequent unto another, by local motion, by natural conspiracy and agreement, and by substantial union, [or, *reduction of all substances into one.*]

XXXV. Fit and accommodate thy self to that estate and to those occurrences, which by the destinies have been annexed unto thee; and love those men whom thy fate it is to live with; but love them truly. An instrument, a tool, an utensil, whatsoever it be,

if it be fit for the purpose it was made for, it is as it should be, though he perchance that made and fitted it be out of sight and gone. But in things natural, that power which hath framed and fitted them, is, and abideth within them still: for which reason it ought also the more to be respected, and we are the more obliged (if we may live and pass our time according to her purpose and intention) to think that all is well with us, and according to our own minds. After this manner also, and in this respect it is, that he that is all in all doth enjoy his happiness.

XXXVI. What things soever are not within the proper power and jurisdiction of thine own Will [*either to compass or avoid,*] if thou shalt propose unto thy self any of those things as either good, or evil; it must needs be that according as thou shalt either fall into that which thou dost think evil, or miss of that which thou dost think good, so wilt thou be ready both to complain of the gods, and to hate those men, who either shall be so indeed, or shall by thee be suspected, as the cause either of thy missing of the one, or falling into the other. And indeed we must needs commit many evils, if we incline to any of these things; more or less, with an opinion of any difference. But if we mind and fanſie those things onely as good and bad, which wholly depend of our own Wills, there is no more occasion why we should either murmur against the gods, or be at enmity with any man.

XXXVII. We all work to one effect; some willingly, and with a rational apprehension of what we doe; others without any such knowledge. As, I think, *Heraclitus* in a place speaks of them that sleep, that even they do work in their kind, and do confer to the general operations of the World. One man therefore doth co-operate after one sort, and another after another sort: but he that doth murmur, and to his power doth resist and hinder; even he as much as any [*doth co-operate.*] For of such also did the World stand in need. Now do thou consider among which of these thou wilt rank thyself. For as for him who is the Administratour of all, he will make good use of thee [*whether thou wilt or no,*] and make thee (as a part and member of the whole) so to co-operate with him, that whatsoever thou doest, shall turn to the furtherance of his own counsels and resolutions. But be not thou [*for shame*] such a part of the whole, as that * vile and ridiculous Verse (which *Chrysippus* in a place doth mention) is a part of the Comedy.

See B. viij.
p. xxxij.

* See the
Notes.

See B. IV.
p. XXII.
B. VII.
p. XXVI.
last lines.

XXXVIII. Doth either the Sun take upon him to doe that which belongs to the rain? or his son *Aesculapinus* that which unto the Earth doth properly belong? How is it with every one of the stars in particular? Though they all differ one from another, [*and have their several changes and functions by themselves.*] do they not all nevertheless concur and co-operate to one end?

XXXIX. If so be that the gods have deliberated in particular of those things which should happen

happen unto me, I must stand to their deliberation, as discreet and wise. For that a god should be an imprudent god, is a thing hard even to conceive; and why should they resolve to doe me hurt? for what profit either unto them or the Universe (which they specially take care for) could arise from it? But if so be that they have not deliberated of me in particular, yet certainly they have of the whole in general; and those things which in consequence and coherence of this general deliberation happen unto me in particular, I am bound to embrace and accept of. But if so be that they have not deliberated at all, (which indeed is very irreligious for any man to believe: for then let us neither sacrifice, nor pray, nor respect our oaths, neither let us any more use any of those things, which we being persuaded of the presence and [secret] conversation of the gods among us, daily use and practise:) but, I say, if so be that they have not indeed [either in general or particular] deliberated of any of those things that happen unto us in this world; yet [God be thanked, that] of those things that concern my self, it is lawfull for me to deliberate my self, and all my deliberation is but concerning that which may be to me most profitable. Now that unto every one is most profitable, which is according to his own constitution and Nature. And my Nature is to be rational [in all my actions,] and as a good and natural member of a City and Common-wealth, towards my fellow-members ever to be sociably and kindly disposed and affected. My City and Countrey, as I am

Antoninus,

Antoninus, is *Rome*; as a man, the whole World. Those things therefore that are expedient and profitable to those Cities, are the onely things that are good and expedient for me.

XL. Whatsoever in any kind doth happen to any one, is expedient to the whole. And thus much [to content us] might suffice, [that it is expedient for the whole in general.] But yet this also shalt thou generally perceive, if thou dost diligently take heed, that whatsoever [doth happen] to any one man or men ****. And now I am content that the word *expedient*, should more generally be understood of [those things which we otherwise call] middle things, [or, things indifferent; as health, wealth, and the like.]

XLI. As the ordinary shews of the Theatre, and of other such places, when thou art presented with them, [affect thee;] as the same things still seen, and in the same fashion, make the sight ingratefull and tedious; so must all the things that we see all our life long affect us. For all things, above and below, are still the same, and from the same [causes.] When then will there be an end?

XLII. Let the several deaths of men of all sorts, and of all sorts of professions, and of all sorts of nations, be a perpetual object of thy thoughts, **** so that thou mayst even come down to *Philestio*, *Phæbus*, and *Origion*. Pass now to other generations. Thither shall we after many changes, where so many brave Oratours are; where so many grave Philosophers, *Heraclitus*, *Pythagoras*, *Socrates*. Where

so many *Hero's* of the old times; and then so many brave Captains of the latter times; and so many Kings. After all these, where *Endo-ruus*, *Hipparchus*, *Archimedes*; where so many other sharp, generous, industrious, subtile, peremptory dispositions; and among others, even they that have been the greatest Scoffers and Deriders of the frailty and brevity of this our humane life; as *Menippus*, and others, as many as there have been such as he. Of all these consider, that they long since are all dead and gone. And what do they suffer by it? Nay, they that have not so much as a Name remaining, what are they the worse for it? One thing there is, and that onely, which is worth our while in this *World*, and ought by us much to be esteemed; and that is, according to truth and righteousness, meekly and lovingly to converse with false and unrighteous men.

XLIII. Whensoever thou wilt rejoice thy self, call to mind the several gifts and vertues of them whom thou dost daily converse with; as for example, the industry of the one, the modesty of another, the liberality of a third, of another some other thing. For nothing can so much rejoice thee, as the resemblances and parallels of several vertues, visible and eminent in the dispositions of those who live with thee; especially when all at once, as near as may be, they represent themselves unto thee. See therefore that thou have them always in a readiness.

XLIV. Dost thou grieve that thou dost weigh but so many pounds, and not 300 rather? Just

as much reason hast thou to grieve that thou must live but so many years, and no longer. For as for bulk and substance thou dost content thyself with that proportion of it that is allotted unto thee, so shouldst thou for time.

XLV. Let us do our best endeavours to persuade them; but however, if Reason and Justice lead thee to it, do it, though they be never so much against it. But if any shall by force withstand thee, and hinder thee in it, convert *[thy virtuous inclinations from one object to another, from Justice]* to contented equanimity, and chearfull patience: so that what *[in the one]* is thy hindrance, thou mayst make use of it for the exercise of another virtue: and remember that it was with due exception and reservation, that thou didst at first incline and desire. For thou didst not set thy mind upon things impossible. Upon what then? that all thy desires might ever be moderated with this due kind of reservation. And this thou hast, and mayst always obtain *[whether the thing desired be in thy power or no. And what do I care for more, if]* that for which I was born, and brought forth into the world, *[to rule all my desires with reason and discretion,]* may be?

XLVI. The ambitious supposeth another man's act, *[praise and applause,]* to be his own happiness; the voluptuous his own sense and feeling; but he that is wise, his own action.

XVII. It is in thy power absolutely to exclude all manner of conceit and opinion as concerning

See B. V.
B. XIV.

erring this matter; and by the same means, to exclude all grief and sorrow from thy soul. For as for the things and objects themselves, they of themselves have no such power, whereby to beget and force upon us any opinion at all.

XLVIII. Use thy self when any man speaks unto thee, so to hearken unto him, as that in the interim thou give not way to any other thoughts; that so thou mayst (as far as is possible) seem fixed and fastned to his very soul, whosoever he be that speaks unto thee.

XLIX. That which is not good for the Beehive, [or, *whole swarm*] cannot be good for the Bee.

L. Will either passengers, or patients, find fault and complain, either the one if they be well carried, or the others if well cured? Do they take care for any more than this; the one, that their Ship-master may bring them safe to land; and the other, that their Physician may effect their recovery?

LI. How many of them who came into the world at the same time when I did, are already gone out of it?

LII. To them that are sick of the Jaundies, Honey seems bitter; and to them that are bitten by a mad Dog, the Water terrible; and to Children, a little Ball seems a fine thing. And why then should I be angry? or do I think that error and false opinion is less powerfull [to make men transgress,] than either choler [immoderate and excessive] to cause the Jaundies; or poison, to cause Rage?

LIII.

See B. VII.
n. XXXIV.
B. VIII.
n. XIII.
&c.

LIII. No man can hinder thee to live as thy nature doth require. Nothing can happen unto thee, but what the common good of Nature doth require.

LIV. What manner of men they be whom they seek to please, and what to get, and by what actions: how soon time will cover and bury all things; and how many it hath already buried.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

WHAT is Wickedness? It is that which many times and often thou hast already seen and known [in the world.] And so oft as any thing doth happen [that might otherwise trouble thee,] let this *memento* presently come to thy mind, that it is that which thou hast already often seen and known. Generally, above and below, thou shalt find but the same things. The very same things whereof ancient stories, middle-age stories, and fresh stories are full: whereof Towns are full, and Houses full. There is nothing that is new. All things that are, are both usual and of little continuance.

II. What fear is there that thy *Dogmata* [or, philosophical Resolutions and Conclusions,] should become dead in thee, [and lose their proper power and efficacy to make thee live happy,] as long as those proper and cor-relative fancies, and representations of things on which they mutually

ally depend (which continually to stir up and revive is in thy power,) are still kept fresh and alive? It is in my power concerning this thing [that is happened, whatsoever it be,] to conceit that which is right and true. If it be, why then am I troubled? Those things that are without my understanding, are nothing to it at all: [and that is it onely which doth properly concern me.] Be always in this mind, and thou wilt be right.

III. [That which most men would think themselves most happy for, and would prefer before all things, if the gods would grant it unto them after their deaths,] thou mayst [whilst thou livest] grant unto thy self; to live again; see the things of the World again, as thou hast already seen them. For what is it else to live again? Publick shews and solemnities with much pomp and vanity, stage-plays, flocks and herds, conflicts and contentions, a bone thrown to a company of hungry Currs, a bait for greedy Fishes, the painfulness and continual burthen-bearing of wretched Ants, the running to and fro of terrified Mice, little Puppets drawn up and down with wires and nerves; [these be the objects of the World.] Among all these thou must stand stedfast, meekly affected, and free from all manner of indignation; with this right ratiocination and apprehension, that as the worth is of those things which a man doth affect, so is [in very deed] every man's worth. [more or less.]

IV. Word after word, every one by it self, must the things that are spoken be conceived and

See B. IV.
n. xxxix.
B. V. num.
XXVII.

See B. III.
num. XVI.
B. IV. n.
XXIV.

and understood; and so the things that are done purpose after purpose, every one by it self likewise. And as in matter of purposes and actions, we must presently see what is the proper [and] relation of every one; so of words must we be as ready, to consider of every one, what is the true meaning and signification of it [according to truth and nature, however it be taken in common use.]

V. Is my reason and understanding sufficient for this or no? If it be sufficient, [without any private applause, or publick ostentation] I will make use of it for the work in hand, as of an Instrument which by nature I am provided of. If it be not, and that otherwise it belong not unto me particularly as a private duty, I will either give it over, or leave it to some other, that can better effect it: or I will endeavour it, but with the help of some other, who, with the joint help of my Reason, is able to bring some what to pass that will now be seasonable and usefull for the common good. For whatsoever I doe either by my self, or with some other, the onely thing that I must intend, is, that it be good and expedient for the publick. [For as for praise, consider] how many who once were much commended, are now already quite forgotten; yea, they that commended them, how even they themselves are long since dead and gone. Be not therefore ashamed; whensoever thou must use the help of others. For whatsoever it be that lieth upon thee to effect, thou must propose it unto thy self, as the scaling of walls is unto a Souldier. And what if thou through

through [either] lameness [or] some other impediment] art not able to reach unto the top of the battlements alone, which with the help of another thou mayst? [wilt thou therefore give it over, or go about it without courage and alacrity, because thou canst not effect it all alone?] *οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἀδύνατον αὐτῷ.*

VI. Let not things future trouble thee. For if necessity so require that they come to pass, thou shalt (whensoever that is,) be provided for them with the same reason, by which whatsoever is now present is made both tolerable and acceptable unto thee. All things are linked and knit together, and the knot is sacred, neither is there any thing in the world that is not kind and natural in regard of any other thing. [Or, that hath not some kind of reference and natural correspondence with whatsoever is in the world besides.] For all things are ranked together, and by that decency of its due place and order that each particular doth observe, they all concur together to the making of one and the same κόσμος [or, World; as if you said, a comely piece, or an orderly composition.] For all things throughout, there is but one and the same order; and through all things, one and the same god, the same substance, and the same Law. There is one common Reason, and one common Truth, that belongs unto all reasonable creatures: for neither is there more than one perfection of all creatures that ** are of the same kind, and partakers* ** οὐκ ἔστιν ἕνα τὸ τέλει τῶν ὁμοίων.* of the same reason.

VII. Whatsoever is material, doth soon vanish away into the common substance of the whole;

whole; and whatsoever is made formal [or, whatsoever doth animate that which is material,] is soon resumed into the common Reason of the Whole, and the same and memory of any thing is soon swallowed up by the general Age and duration of the whole.

VIII. To a reasonable creature, the same action is both according to nature, and according to reason.

IX. *Streight [of it self] not made streight.*

X. As several members in one body united, so are reasonable creatures in a body divided and dispersed, all made and prepared for one common operation. And this thou shalt apprehend the better, if thou shalt use thy self often to say to thy self, I am *μέμ্বর*, or a member, of the mass and body of reasonable substances. But if thou shalt say, I am *μέρος*, or a part, thou dost not yet love men from thy heart. The joy that thou takest in the exercise of bounty is not yet grounded upon a due ratiocination, and right apprehension of the nature of things. Thou dost exercise it as yet upon this ground barely, as a thing convenient and fitting; not, as doing good to thy self, [when thou doest good unto others.]

XI. Of things that are external happen what will to that which can suffer by external accidents. Those things that suffer let them complain themselves, if they will; as for me, as long as I conceive no such thing, that that which is happened is evil, I have no hurt, and it is in my power not to conceive any such thing.

XII. Whatsoever any man either doeth or saith, thou must be good; [*not for any man's sake, but for thine own nature's sake:*] as if either Gold, or the Emerald, or Purple, should ever be saying to themselves, Whatsoever any man either doeth or saith, I must still be an Emerald, and I must keep my colour.

XIII. [*This may ever be my comfort and security:*] my understanding, that ruleth over all, will not of it self bring trouble and vexation upon it self. This I say; it will not put if self in any fear, it will not lead it self into any concupiscence. If it be in the power of any other to compell it to fear or to grieve, let him doe it. But sure if it self do not of it self, through some [*false*] opinion or supposition, incline it self to any such disposition, [*there is no fear.*] For as for the body, why should I make the grief of my body to be the grief of my mind? If that it self can either fear or complain, let it. But as for the soul, which indeed can onely be truly sensible of either fear or grief; to which onely it belongs, according to its different imaginations and opinions to admit of either of these, or of their contraries; [*thou mayst look to that thy self, that*] it suffer nothing. Induce her not to any such opinion or persuasion. The understanding is of it self sufficient unto it self, and needs not (if it self doth not bring it self to need) any other thing besides it self; and by consequent, as it needs nothing, so neither can it be troubled and hindred by any thing, if it self doth not trouble and hinder it self.

* See the
Latin
Notes.

XIV. What is *εὐδαιμονία* [or, happiness,] but * *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*, [or, a good Demon, or Spirit?] What then dost thou doe here, O opinion, by the gods I adjure thee, that thou get thee gone as thou camest: for I need thee not. Thou camest indeed [unto me] according to thy ancient wonted manner. [*It is that the all men have ever been subject unto. That thou camest therefore*] I am not angry with thee, onely be gone, [*now that I have found thee what thou art.*]

XV. Is any man so foolish as to fear change, to which all things [*that once were not*] owe their being? And what is it that is more pleasing and more familiar to the nature of the Universe? How couldst thou thy self use thy ordinary hot baths, should not the wood [*that heateth them*] first be changed? how couldst thou receive any nourishment from those things that thou hast eaten, if they should not be changed? Can any thing else almost (that is usefull and profitable) be brought to pass without change? How then dost not thou perceive, that for thee also [*by death*] to come to change, is a thing of the very same nature, and as necessary for the nature of the Universe?

XVI. Through the Substance of the Universe, as through a torrent, pass all particular bodies, being all of the same nature, and all joint workers with the Universe it self, as is one of our bodies so many members among themselves. How many such as *Chrysippus*, how many such as *Socrates*, how many such as

Epietetus,

Millennium, hath the Age of the world long since swallowed up and devoured? Let this come into thy mind upon every occasion, be it either men or businesses, that thou hast occasion to think of, [*to the end that thy thoughts be not distracted, and thy mind too earnestly set upon any thing.*] Of all my thoughts and cares one only thing shall be the object, that I my self do nothing which to the proper constitution of man (either in regard of the thing it self, or in regard of the manner, or of the time of doing,) is contrary. The time when thou shalt have forgotten all things is at hand. And that time also is at hand, when thou thy self shalt be forgotten by all. [*Whilst thou art, apply thy self to that especially*] which unto man as he is a man is most proper and agreeable; and that is, for a man even to love them that conspire [*against him.*] This shall be, if at the same time [*that any such thing doth happen,*] thou call to mind, that they are thy Kinsmen; that it is through ignorance and against their wills that they sin; and that within a very short while after, both thou and he shall be no more. But above all things, that he hath not done thee any hurt; for that by him thy mind and understanding is not made worse or more vile than it was before.

XVII. The nature of the Universe, of the common substance of all things, as it were of so much wax, hath now perchance formed a Horse; and then destroying that figure, hath new tempered and fashioned the matter of it into the form and substance of a Tree; then

that again into the form and substance of a man; and then that again into some other. Now every one of these doth subsist but for a very little while. As for dissolution, if it be no grievous thing to the chest or trunk, to be joined together; why should it be more grievous to be put asunder?

XVIII. An angry countenance is much against nature; and it is oftentimes the proper countenance of them that are at the point of death.

* See *Suidas*, and other ancients, who bear witness to *Anton.* that he was never seen to change his countenance through either anger or joy.

* But be it so, that all anger and passion is so thoroughly quenched in thee, that it is altogether impossible to kindle it any more: *[herein must not thou rest satisfied;]* but farther endeavour, by good consequence of true rational nature, perfectly to conceive and understand, that all anger and passion is against reason. For if thou shalt not be sensible of thine innocency; if that also shall be gone from thee, *[the comfort of a good conscience, that thou doest all things according to reason:]* what shouldest thou live any longer for? All things that now thou seeest are but for a moment. That nature, by which all things in the world are administered, will soon bring change and alteration upon them, and then of their substances make other things, *[like unto them;]* and then soon after others again of the matter and substance of these: that so by these means the world may still appear fresh and new.

XIX. Whensoever any man doth trespass against thee, presently consider with thyself what it was that he did suppose to be good, what to be evil, when he did trespass. For this when

when thou knowest, thou wilt pity him; thou wilt have no occasion either to wonder, or to be angry. For either thou thy self dost yet *[live in that error or ignorance, as that thou dost]* suppose either that very thing that he doeth, or some other like *[worldly]* thing, to be good; and so thou art bound to pardon him; *[if he have done that which thou in the like case wouldst have done thy self]* Or if so be that thou dost not any more suppose the same things to be good or evil that he doeth; how canst thou but be gentle unto him that is in an error?

XX. Fantasie not to thy self things future, as though they were present; but of those that are present, take some aside; that thou takest most benefit of, and consider of them particularly, how wonderfully thou wouldst want them, if they were not present. But take heed withall, lest that whilst thou dost settle thy contentment in things present, thou grow in time so to overprise them, as that the want of them (whensoever it shall so fall out) should be a trouble and vexation unto thee. Wind up thy self into thy self. Such is the Nature of thy reasonable commanding part, as that if it exercise justice, and have by that means tranquillity within it self, it doth rest fully satisfied with it self *[without any other thing.]*

XXI. Wipe off all opinion: Stay the force and violence of unreasonable lusts and affections: Circumscribe the present time: Examine whatsoever it be that is happened, either to thy self or to another: Divide all present objects, either in that which is formal or material;

See B. X.
n. XXX.

rial; Think of the last hour. That which thy neighbour hath committed, where the guilt of it lieth, there let it rest. * *Extend thy mind to [or, Examine in order] whatsoever is spoken. Let thy mind penetrate both into the effects, and into the causes. Rejoice thy self with true simplicity and modesty; and that all middle things between vertue and vice are indifferent unto thee. [Finally,] Love mankind; obey God.*

XXII. *All things (saith he) are by certain order and appointment. And what if the Elements only * * *. It will suffice to remember, that all things in general are by certain order and appointment; or if it be but few * *. And as concerning death, that either Dispersion, or the Atoms, or Annihilation, or Extinction, or Translation [will ensue.] And as concerning pain, that that which is intolerable is soon ended by death; and that which holds long must needs be tolerable; and that the mind in the mean time [which is all in all] may * by way of intercession, or interception [by stopping all manner of commerce and sympathy with the body,] still retain its own tranquillity. Thy understanding is not made worse by it. As for those parts that suffer, let them, if they can, declare their grief themselves. As for praise and commendation, view their mind and understanding, what estate they are in; what kind of things they see, and what things they seek after: and that as in the sea-shore, whatsoever was before to be seen, is by the continual succession of new heaps of sand cast up one upon another,*

* Συμμε-
ταίρετον.

* ΧΥ ΣΥΜ-

ΑΝΤΙ-

See B. V.

n. XX.

B. IX. n.

XLI.

See n. VI.

upon B. II.

and B. VII.

n. xxxiv.

rather, soon hid and covered; so in this life, of former things by those which immediately succeed.

XXIII. Out of Plato. He then whose mind is adorned with true magnanimity, who hath accustomed himself to the contemplation both of all times, and of all things in general; can this mortal life (thinkest thou) seem any great matter unto him? It is not possible, answered he. Then neither will such a one account death a grievous thing? By no means.

XXIV. Out of Antisthenes. It is a princely thing to do well, and to be evil spoken of. It is a shamefull thing that the face should be subject unto the mind, to be put into what shape it will, and to be dressed by it as it will; and that the mind should not bestow so much care upon her self, as to fashion her self, and to dress her self as best becometh her.

XXV. [Out of several Poets and Comicks.] It will but little avail thee, to turn thine anger and indignation upon the things themselves [that have fallen cross unto thee.] For as for them they are not sensible of it, &c. Thou shalt but make thy self a laughing-stock both unto the gods and men, &c. Our life is reaped like a ripe ear of corn: one is yet standing, and another is down, &c. But if so be that I and my children be neglected by the gods, there is some reason even for that, &c. As long as right and equity is on my side, &c. Not to lament with them, Not to tremble, &c.

XXVI. Out of Plato. My answer, full of justice and equity, should be this: Thy speech is not right, O man, if thou supposest, that he that

is of any worth at all, should apprehend either life or death as a matter of great hazard or danger; and should not make this rather his onely care, to examine his own actions, whether just or unjust; whether actions of a good, or of a wicked man, &c. For thus in very truth stands the case, O ye men of Athens! What place or station soever a man either hath chosen to himself, judging it best for himself, or is by lawfull authority put and settled in; therein do I think (all appearance of danger notwithstanding,) that he should continue, as one who feareth neither death, nor any thing ~~else~~ so much as he feareth to commit any thing that is vicious and shamefull, &c. But, O noble Sir, consider, I pray, whether true generosity and true happiness do not consist in somewhat else rather, than in the preservation either of our or other mens lives. For it is not the part of a man that is a man indeed, to desire to live long, [or to make much of his life whilst he liveth:] But rather (he that is such) will in these things wholly refer himself unto the gods, and believing that which every woman can tell him, that no man can escape death; the onely thing that he takes thought and care for is this, that what time he liveth, he may live as well and as virtuously as he can possibly, &c. To look about, and with the eyes to follow the course of the stars and planets, as though thou wouldest run with them; and to mind perpetually the several changes of the Elements one into another. For such fancies and imaginations help much to purge away the dross and filth of this our earthly life, &c. That also is a fine passage of Plato's, where he speaketh of worldly things in these words: Thou must also

See B. IX.
n. XXIX.
B. XII.
n. XVIII.

as from some higher place look down, as it were, upon the things of this world; as flocks, armies, husband-mens labours, marriages, divorces, generations, deaths, the tumults of Courts, and places of judicatures, desert places, the several nations of Barbarians, publick festivals, mournings, fairs, markets. How all things [upon Earth] are pell-mell; and how [miraculously] things contrary one to another concur to the beauty and perfection of this Universe.

See B. IV,
n. XXII.

XXVII. To look back upon things of former ages, as upon the manifold changes and conversions of several Monarchies and Commonwealths. We may also fore-see things future, for they shall all be of the same kind; neither is it possible that they should leave the tune, or break the consort that is now begun, as it were, by these things that are now done and brought to pass in the World. It comes all to one therefore, whether a man be a spectator of the things of this life but forty years, or whether he see them ten thousand years together: for what shall he see more? And as for those parts that came from the Earth, they shall return unto the Earth again; and those that came from Heaven, they also shall return unto those heavenly places. Whether it be a mere dissolution and unbinding of the manifold intricacies and intanglements of the confused Atoms; or some such dispersion of the simple and incorruptible Elements * * *. With meats and drinks and divers charms, they seek to divert the chanel, that they might not dye. Yet must we needs endure that blast of wind that cometh from above,

bove, though we toil and labour never so much.

* Gr. ὑψ-
βαλίστι-
ς.

XXVIII. He hath * a stronger body, and is a better wrestler than I. [What then?] Is he more bountifull? is he more modest? Doth he bear all adverse chances with more equanimity; or with his neighbours offences with more meekness and gentleness than I?

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JIXX

XXIX. Where the matter may be effected agreeably to that Reason, which both unto the gods and men is common, there can be no just cause of grief or sorrow. For where the fruit and benefit of an action well begun and prosecuted according to the proper constitution of man may be reaped and obtained, [or, is sure and certain,] it is against reason that any damage should there be suspected. In all places, and at all times, it is in thy power religiously to embrace whatsoever [by God's appointment] is happened unto thee, and justly to converse with those men whom thou hast to doe with; and accurately to examine every fancy that presents it self, that nothing may slip and steal in, before thou hast rightly apprehended the true Nature of it.

XXX. Look not about upon other mens minds and understandings; but look right on forwards whether Nature, both that of the Universe, in those things that happen unto thee, and thine in particular, in those things that are to be done by thee, doth lead and direct thee. Now every one is bound to doe that which is consequent and agreeable to that end which by his true natural constitution he was ordained unto,

unto. As for all other things, they are ordained for the use of reasonable creatures: as in all things we see that that which is worse and inferiour, is made for that which is better. Reasonable creatures, they are ordained one for another. That therefore which is chief in every man's constitution, is, that he intend the common good. The second is, that he yield not to any lusts and motions of the flesh. For it is the part and privilege of the reasonable and intellective faculty, that she can so bound her self, as that neither the sensitive nor the appetitive faculties may any ways prevail upon her. For both these are brutish. And [therefore] over both she challengeth mastery, and cannot any ways endure [if in her right temper,] to be subject unto either. And this indeed most justly. For by nature she was ordained to command all in the body. The third thing proper to man by his constitution is, to avoid all rashness and precipitancy; and not to be subject to error. To these things then let the mind apply her self, and go streight on [without any distraction about other things,] and she hath her end, [and by consequent her happiness.]

XXXI. As one who had lived, and were now to dye by right, whatsoever is yet remaining, Gr. x^{ti} 7^o quoniam. See Pref. bestow that wholly as [a gracious] overplus upon a *vertuous life*. Love and affect that onely, whatsoever it be that happeneth, and is by the Fates appointed unto thee. For what can be more *reasonable*? And as any thing doth happen unto thee [by way of cross or calamity,] call
to

to mind presently and set before thine eyes the examples of some other men, to whom the self-same thing did once happen likewise. Well, what did they? They grieved, they wondred, they complained. And where are they now? All dead and gone. Wilt thou also be like one of them? Or rather leaving these fickle dispositions to men of the world, (*or, men of as fickle minds as fickle bodies; ever changing, and soon changed themselves:*) let it be thine onely care and study, how to make a right use of all such accidents. For there is good use to be made of them, and they will prove fit matter for thee to work upon, if it shall be both thy *care* and thy *desire*, that whatsoever thou doest, thou thy self mayst like and approve thy self for it. And both these see that thou remember well, according as the diversity of the matter of the action that thou art about shall require. Look within; within is the fountain of all good: Such a fountain, where springing waters can never fail, so thou dig still deeper and deeper.

XXXII. Thou must use thy self also to keep thy body fixed and steady; free from all loose, fluctuant, either motion, or posture. And as upon thy face and looks, thy mind hath easily power over them to keep them to that which is grave and decent; so let it challenge the same power over the whole body also. But so observe all things in this kind, as that it be without any manner of affectation.

XXXIII. The art of true living in this world, is more like a wrestler's than a dancer's practice.

For

For in this they both agree, [*to teach*] a man, whatsoever falls upon him, that he may be ready for it, and that nothing may cast him down.

XXXIV. Thou must continually ponder and consider with thy self, what manner of men they be, and for their minds and understandings, what is their present estate, whose good word and testimony thou dost desire. For then neither wilt thou see cause to complain of them that offend against *their wills*; or find any want of their applause, if once thou dost but penetrate into the true source and ground both of their opinions and of their desires. *No soul* (saith he) *is willingly bereaved of the Truth*; and by consequent, neither of justice, or temperance, or kindness and mildness; nor of any thing that is of the same kind. It is most needfull that thou shouldest always remember this: For so shalt thou be far more gentle and moderate towards all men.

See B. VIII.
n. XIII.

XXXV. What pain soever thou art in, let this presently come to thy mind, that it is not a thing whereof thou needest to be ashamed; neither is it a thing whereby thy understanding, that hath the government of all, can be made worse. For neither in regard of the substance of it, nor in regard of the end of it, (which is, to intend the common good;) can it alter and corrupt it. This also of *Epicurus* mayst thou in most pains find some help of, that it is *neither intolerable, nor eternal*; so thou keep thy self to the true bounds and limits [*of reason,*] and add not unto them the opinion [*of either good or evil.*] This also thou must consider, that many things

things there be, which oftentimes unreasonably trouble and vex thee, [as not armed against them with patience, because they go not ordinarily under the name of pains,] which in very deed are of the same nature as pain; as to slumber unquietly, to suffer heat, to want appetite: when therefore any of these things make thee discontented, check thy self with these words. Now hath pain given thee the foil; Thy courage hath failed thee.

XXXVI. Take heed lest at any time thou stand so affected, though towards unnatural evil men, as ordinary men are commonly one towards another.

XXXVII. How know we whether *Socrates* were so eminent indeed, and of so extraordinary a disposition? For that he dyed more gloriously, that he disputed with the Sophists more subtilly, that he watched in the *Pagus* more assiduouly, that being commanded to fetch [innocent] *Salaminus*, he refused to doe it more generously; all this will not serve. Nor that

* Gr. ἐν τῇ
ἐν δὲ τῇ
βασίλειᾳ.
See Sui-
das.

* he walked in the streets with much gravity and majesty; as was objected unto him by his adversaries: which nevertheless a man may well doubt of, whether it were so or no, [or, which above all the rest, if so be that it were true, a man would well consider of, whether commendable, or discommendable.] The thing therefore that we must inquire into is this; What manner of soul *Socrates* had; whether his disposition was such, as that all that he stood upon and sought after in this world, was barely this, That he might ever carry himself justly towards men, and ho-
lily

By towards the gods, neither vexing himself to no purpose at the wickedness of others, nor yet ever condescending to any man's evil fact, or evil intentions, [through either fear, or ingagement of friendship.] Whether of those things that happened unto him by God's appointment, he neither did wonder at any when it did happen, or thought it intolerable in the trial of it. And, lastly, whether he never did suffer his mind to sympathize with the senses and affections of the body. For we must not think that Nature hath so mixed and tempered it with the body, as that she hath not power to circumscribe her self, and by her self to intend her own ends and occasions.

XXXVIII. *For it is a thing very possible, that a man should be a very divine man, and yet be altogether unknown.* This thou must ever be mindfull of, as of this also, that a man's true happiness can consist in very few things. And that although thou dost despair, that thou shalt ever be a good either Logician or Naturalist, yet thou art never the farther off by it from being either liberal, or modest, or charitable, or obedient unto God.

XXXIX. Free from all compulsion in all cheerfulness and alacrity thou mayst run out thy time, though men should exclaim against thee never so much, and the wild beasts should pull in sunder the poor members * of this mass of flesh that compasseth thee about. For what in either of these or the like cases should hinder the mind to retain her own rest and tranquillity, consisting both in the right judgment

* See the Notes.

L

of

Gr. ἡ κεί-
 σιν τῶ
 πρῶτον.
 ἡ ἑξῆς
 τῶ ἑξῆς
 πρῶτον.

of those things that happen unto her, and in the ready use of all present matters and occasions. So that her judgment may say to that which befalln her by way of cross, This thou art in very deed, and according to thy true nature; notwithstanding that in the judgment of opinion thou dost appear otherwise: and her discretion in the present object, Thou art that which I sought for. For whatsoever it be that is now present, shall ever be embraced by me as a fit and reasonable object, both for my reasonable faculty, and for my sociable, or charitable, inclination to work upon. And that which is principal in this matter, is, that it may be referred either unto [the praise of] God, or to [the good of] men. For either unto God or man, whatsoever it is that doth happen in the world, hath in the ordinary course of nature its proper reference; neither is there any thing, that [in regard of nature] is either new or reluctant and intractable, but all things both usual and easie.

XL. Then hath a man attained to the estate of perfection in his life and conversation, when he so spends every day, as if it were his last day: never hot and vehement in his affections, nor yet so cold and stupid as one that had no sense; and free from all manner of dissimulation.

XLI. Can the gods, who are immortal, for the continuance of so many ages bear without indignation with such and so many sinners as have ever been; yea not onely so, but also take such care for them, that they want nothing: and dost thou so grievously take on, as one that could

could bear with them no longer; thou that art but for a moment of time; yea, thou that art one of those sinners thy self? A very ridiculous thing it is, that any man should dispense with vice and wickedness in himself, which is in his power to restrain; and should go about to suppress it in others, which is altogether impossible.

XLII. What object soever our reasonable and sociable faculty doth meet with, that affords nothing either for the satisfaction of reason, or for the practice of charity, she worthily doth think unworthy of her self.

XLIII. When thou hast done well, and another is benefited by thy action, must thou like a very fool look for a third thing besides, as that it may appear unto others also that thou hast done well, or that thou mayst in time receive one good turn for another? No man useth to be weary of that which is beneficial unto him. But every action according to Nature is beneficial. Be not weary then of doing that which is beneficial unto thee, whilst it is so unto others.

XLIV. The nature of the Universe did once certainly deliberate, and so resolve upon the creation of the World [*before it was created; whatsoever it hath done since.*] Now since that time, whatsoever it is that is and happens in the world, is either but a consequent of that one and first deliberation: Or if so be that this ruling rational part of the world takes any thought and care of things particular, they are surely

See B. VI.
p. xxxiii;
xxxix.
B. IX.
p. xxvii

his reasonable and principal creatures, that are the proper object of his particular care and providence. This often thought upon will much conduce to thy tranquillity.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

THIS also, among other things, may serve to keep thee from vain-glory, if thou shalt consider, that thou now art altogether incapable of the commendation of one who all his life long, or from his youth at least, hath lived a Philosopher's life. For both unto others, and to thy self especially, it is well known, that thou hast done many things contrary to that perfection of life. Thou hast therefore been confounded in thy course; and henceforth it will be hard for thee to recover the Title and credit of a Philosopher. And to it also is thy calling and profession repugnant. If therefore thou dost truly understand what it is that is of moment indeed; as for thy fame and credit, take no thought or care for that: let it suffice thee, if all the rest of thy life, be it more or less, thou shalt live as thy nature requireth, [*or, according to the true and natural end of thy making.*] Take pains therefore to know what it is that thy nature require h, and let nothing else distract thee. Thou hast already had sufficient experience, that of those many things about which thou hast hitherto wandred, thou couldest not find

find happiness in any of them. Not in Syllogisms and Logical subtilties, not in wealth, not in honour and reputation, not in pleasure. In none of all these. Wherein then is it to be found? In the practice of those things which the nature of man, as he is a man, doth require? How then shall he doe those things? If his *Dogmata*, or moral Tenets and Opinions (from which all motions and actions do proceed,) be right and true. Which be those *Dogmata*? Those that concern that which is good or evil: as that there is nothing truly good and beneficial unto man, but that which makes him just, temperate, courageous, liberal; and that there is nothing truly evil and hurtfull unto man, but that which causeth the contrary effects.

II. Upon every action that thou art about, put this question to thy self; How will this when it is done agree with me? Shall I have no occasion to repent of it? Yet a very little while and I am dead and gone; and all things are at an end. What then do I care for more than this, that my present action, whatsoever it be, may be the proper action of one that is reasonable; whose end is the common good; who in all things is ruled and governed by the same law [of right and reason,] by which God himself is?

III. *Alexander, Caius, Pompeius*; what are these to *Diogenes, Heraclitus, and Socrates*? These penetrated into the true nature of things; into all causes, and all subjects: and upon these did they exercise their power and authority: [or, these were the objects of their power and jurisdiction:]

dition:] But as for those, as the extent of their error was, [or, of their care and providence in worldly matters,] so far did their slavery extend.

* Gr. *ἡ*
αἰσχρολογία,
burst thy
self, pro-
perly.

IV. *What they have done, they will still do, although thou shouldst* * *hang thy self.* First, Let it not trouble thee. For all things [both good and evil] come to pass according to the nature and general condition of the Universe, and within a very little while all things will be at an end; no man will be remembered: as now of *Hadrianus* (for example) and *Augustus*, it is already come to pass. Then, secondly, Fix thy mind upon the thing it self; look into it, and remembering thy self, that thou art bound nevertheless to be a good man, and what it is that thy nature requireth of thee as thou art a man, be not diverted from what thou art about, and speak that which seemeth unto thee most just: onely speak it kindly, modestly, and without hypocrisie.

V. That which the nature of the Universe doth busie her self about, is, that which is here, to transfer it thither, to change it; and thence again to take it away, and to carry it to another place. All things are but [successive] changes [of one into another:] So that thou needst not fear any new thing. For all things are usual and ordinary; and all things are disposed by equality.

VI. Every particular nature hath content, when in its own proper course it speeds. A reasonable nature doth then speed, when first in matter of fancies and imaginations it gives

no consent to that which is either false or uncertain. Secondly, when in all its motions, and resolutions it takes its level at the common good onely, and desireth nothing, and flieth from nothing, but what is in its own power to compass or avoid. And, lastly, when it willingly and gladly embraceth whatsoever is dealt and appointed unto it by the common Nature. For it is part of it; even as the nature of any one leaf is part of the common nature of all plants and trees. But that the nature of a leaf is part of a nature both unreasonable and unsensible, and which [*in its proper end*] may be hindred; [*or, which is servile and slavish:*] whereas the nature of man is part of a common nature which cannot be hindred, and which is both reasonable and just. From whence also it is, that according to the worth of every thing, she doth make such equal distribution of all things, as of duration, substance, form, operation, and of events and accidents. But herein consider, not whether thou shalt find this equality in every thing absolutely and by it self; but whether in all the particulars of some one thing taken together, and compared with all the particulars of some other thing together likewise.

VII. Thou hast no time nor opportunity to reade. What then? Hast thou not time and opportunity to exercise thy self, not to wrong [*thy self;*] to strive against [*all carnal*] pleasures and pains, and to get the upper hand of them; to contemn honour and vain-glory; and not onely not to be angry with them whom

towards thee thou dost find unsensible and unthankfull, but also to have a care of them still, and of their welfare?

VIII. Forbear henceforth to complain of the troubles of a Courtly life, either in publick before others, or in private by thy self.

IX. Repentance is an inward and self reprehension for the neglect or omission of something that was profitable. Now whatsoever is good, is also profitable, and it is the part of an honest vertuous man to set by it, and to make reckoning of it accordingly. But never did any honest vertuous man repent of the neglect or omission of any [*carnal*] pleasure: no [*carnal*] pleasure then is either good or profitable.

X. This, what is it in it self, and by it self, according to its proper constitution? What is the substance of it? What is the matter, [*or, proper use?*] What is the form [*or, efficient cause?*] What is it for in this world, and how long will it abide? [*Thus must thou examine all things that present themselves unto thee.*]

XI. When thou art hard to be stirred up and awakened out of thy sleep, admonish thy self and call to mind, that, to perform actions tending to the common good, is that which thine own proper constitution, and that which the nature of man do require. But to sleep, is common to unreasonable creatures also. And what more proper and natural, yea what more kind and pleasing, than that which is according to Nature?

XII. As

XII. As every fancie and imagination presents it self unto thee, consider (if it be possible) the true nature and the proper qualities of it, and reason with thy self about it.

XIII. At thy first encounter with any one, say presently to thy self, This man, what are his opinions concerning that which is good or evil? as concerning pain, pleasure, and the causes of both; concerning honour and dishonour, concerning life and death; thus and thus. Now if it be no wonder that a man should have such and such opinions; how can it be a wonder that he should doe such and such things? I will remember then, that he cannot but doe as he doeth [*holding those opinions that he doth.*] And that as it is a shame for any man to wonder that a fig-tree should bear figs, so is it also to wonder that the World should bear any thing, whatsoever it is which in the ordinary course of nature it may bear. To a Physician also and to a Pilot it is a shame, either for the one to wonder that such and such a one should have an Ague; or for the other, that the winds should prove contrary.

XIV. Remember, that to change thy mind upon occasion, and to follow him that is able to rectifie thee, is equally ingenuous, [*as to find out at the first what is right and just, without help.*] For of thee nothing is required that is beyond the extent of thine own deliberation and judgment, and of thine own understanding.

XV. If it were thine act and in thine own power, why wouldst thou doe it? If it were not, whom

whom dost thou accuse? the atoms, or the gods? For to doe either is the part of a mad-man. Thou must therefore blame no body, but, if it be in thy power, redress what is amiss; if it be not, to what end is it to complain? For nothing should be done but to some certain end.

XVI. Whatsoever dyeth [*and falleth, howeuer and wherefoever it dye and fall,*] it cannot fall out of the world. If here it have its abode and change, here also shall it have its dissolution into its proper elements. The same are the world's Elements, and the elements of which thou dost consist. And they when they are changed, they murmur not; [*why shouldst thou?*]

XVII. Whatsoever is, was made for something, as a Horse, a Vine. Why wonderest thou? The Sun it self can tell thee, for what work he was made: and so [*hath*] every god [*its proper function.*] What then wert thou made for? to disport and delight thy self? See how even common sense and reason cannot brook it.

XVIII. Nature hath its end as well in the end and final consummation of any thing that is, as in the beginning and continuation of it.

XIX. As one that tosseth up a Ball. And what is a Ball the better, if the motion of it be upwards; or the worse, if it be downwards; or if it chance to fall upon the ground? So for the Bubble; if it continue, what is it the better? and if it dissolve, what is it the worse? And so is it of a Candle too. [*And so must thou reason*

with

with thy self, both in matter of fame, and in matter of death. For as for the body it self, (the subject of death) wouldst thou know the vileness of it? Turn it about, [that thou mayst behold it the worst side upwards as well as in its more ordinary pleasant shape:] how doth it look when it is old and withered? when sick and pained? when in the act of lust and fornication? [And as for fame,] This life is short. But he that praiseth, and he that is praised; he that remembers, and he that is remembred, [will soon be dust and ashes.] Besides, it is but in one corner of this part of the World [that thou art praised;] and yet in this corner thou hast not the joint praises of all men, no, nor scarce of any one constantly. And yet the whole earth it self, what is it but as one point, [in regard of the whole world?]

XX. That which must be the subject of thy consideration, is either the matter it self, or the Digma, or the operation, or the true sense and signification.

XXI. Most justly have these things happened unto thee: [why dost not thou amend?] O but thou hadst rather become good to morrow, than to be so to day.

XXII. Shall I doe it? I will; so the end of my action be to doe good unto men. Doth any thing by way of cross or adversity happen unto me? I accept it, with reference unto the Gods, and [their providence;] the fountain of all things, from which whatsoever comes to pass doth hang and depend.

XXIII. [By one action judge of the rest.] This bathing

bathing [*which usually takes up so much of time*] what is it? Oil, sweat, filth; [*or, the sordes of the body:*] water, an excrementitious viscosity, [*the excrements of oil, and other ointments used about the body, and mixed with the sordes of the body:*] all base and loathsome. And such [*almost*] is every part of our life, and every [*worldly*] object.

XXIV. *Lucilla* [*buried*] *Verus*; then was *Lucilla* her self [*buried by others.*] So *Secunda*, *Maximus*, then *Secunda* her self. So *Epitunchanus*, *Diotimus*; then *Epitunchanus* himself. So *Antoninus Pius*, *Faustina* [*his wife;*] then *Antoninus* himself. This is the course of the world. First, *Celer*, *Adrianus*; then *Adrianus* himself. And those austere ones, those that foretold other mens deaths, those that were so proud and stately, where are they now? Those austere ones I mean, such as were *Charax*, and *Demetrius* the Platonick, and *Eudemon*, and others like unto those. They were but for one day; all dead and gone long since. Some of them no sooner dead, than forgotten. Others soon turned into fables. Of others, even that which was fabulous is now long since forgotten. This therefore thou must remember, that whatsoever thou art compounded of, shall [*soon*] be dispersed, and that thy life and breath, [*or, thy soul,*] shall either be no more, or shall be translated, and appointed to some certain place and station.

XXV. The true joy of a man is, to doe that which properly belongs unto a man. That which is most proper unto a man, is, First, to be kindly affected

affected towards them that are of the same kind and nature as he is himself; to condemn all sensual motions and appetites; to discern rightly all plausible fancies and imaginations; to contemplate the nature of the Universe; both it, and all things that are done in it. [*In which kind of contemplation*] three several relations [*are to be observed.*] The first, to the appearing secondary cause. The second, to the first original cause, God, from whom originally proceeds whatsoever doth happen in the World. The third and last, to them that we live and converse with: [*what use may be made of it to their use and benefit.*]

XXVI. If pain be an evil, either it is in regard of the body, (and that cannot be, *because the body of it self is altogether insensible:*) or in regard of the soul. But it is in the power of the soul to preserve her own peace and tranquillity, and not to suppose that pain is evil. For all judgement and deliberation, all prosecution or aversion is from within, whither the sense of evil [*except it be let in by opinion*] cannot penetrate.

XXVII. Wipe off all [*idle*] fancies, and say unto thy self incessantly, Now, if I will, it is in my power to keep out of this my soul all wickedness, all lust and concupiscences, all trouble and confusion: But on the contrary, to behold and consider all things according to their true nature, and to carry my self towards every thing according to its true worth. Remember then this thy power, that Nature hath given thee.

XXVIII.

Gr. ἐκτὸν
ἀποφανέ-
σθαι. See
B. VII.
n. XIII.

XXVIII. Whether thou speak in the Senate, or whether thou speak to any particular, let thy speech be always grave and modest. But thou must not openly and vulgarly observe that sound and exact form of speaking [*concerning that which is truly good and truly evil; the vanity of the world and of worldly men:*] which otherwise Truth and Reason doth prescribe.

XXIX. *Augustus* his Court, his Wife, his Daughter, his Nephews, his Sons in Law, his Sister, *Agrippa*, his Kinsmen, his domesticks, his Friends; *Aeneas*, *Mecenas*, his *aruspices* [*or slayers of beasts for sacrifice and divination:*] Then thou hast the death of a whole Court together. Proceed now on to the rest [*that have been since that of Augustus.*] Hath death dealt with them otherwise, [*though so many and so stately whilst they lived,*] than it doth use to deal with any one particular man? Consider now the death of a whole kindred and family, as of that of the *Pompeys*, as that also that useth to be written upon some monuments, **HE WAS THE LAST OF HIS OWN KINDRED.** O what care did his Predecessours take that they might leave a successour! yet, behold, at last one or other must of necessity be **THE LAST.** Here again therefore consider the death of a whole kindred.

XXX. Contract thy whole life to the measure and proportion of one single action. And if in every particular action thou dost perform what is fitting to the utmost of thy power, let it suffice thee, [*or, think that thou hast lived long enough.*] And who can hinder thee, but that thou

thou mayst perform what is fitting? But there may be some outward let and impediment. Not any that can hinder thee, but that whatsoever thou doest, thou mayst do it justly, temperately, and with the praise of God. Yea, but there may be somewhat whereby some operation or other of thine may be hindred. And then with that very thing that doth hinder, thou mayst be well pleased, and so by this gentle and equanimous conversion of thy mind unto that which may be, [instead of that which at first thou didst intend,] in the room of that former action there succeedeth another, which agrees [as well] with this contraction of thy life that we now speak of.

XXXI. Receive [temporal blessings] without ostentation, when they are sent; and [thou shalt be able] to part with them with all readiness and facility when they are taken from thee again.

XXXII. If ever thou sawest either a hand, or a foot, or a head lying by it self, in some place or other, as cut off from the rest of the body, such must thou conceive him to make himself, as much as in him lieth, that either is offended with any thing that is happened, (whatsoever it be) and as it were divides himself from it; or that commits any thing against the natural Law of mutual correspondence and society among men; or, [he that commits any act of uncharitableness.] Whosoever thou art that art such, thou art cast forth I know not whither out of the general unity, which is according to Nature. Thou wert born indeed a-part, but now thou hast

hast cut thy self off. However, herein is matter of joy and exultation, that thou mayst be united again. God hath not granted it unto any other part; that once separated and cut off, it might be re-united and come together again. But, behold, that GOODNESS

Seen. LIII.

B. XI.

n. VII.

[how great and immense it is!] which hath so much esteemed MAN. As at first he was so made, that he needed not, except he would himself, have rent or divided himself from the whole; so once divided and cut off, IT hath so provided and ordered it, that if he would himself, he might return, and grow together again, and be admitted into his former rank and place of a part, as he was before.

XXXIII. The Nature of the Universe as it hath imparted almost all her other faculties and properties unto every reasonable creature, so this in particular we have received from her, that as whatsoever doth oppose it self unto her, and doth withstand her in her purposes and intentions, she doth, though against its will and intention, bring it about to her self, to serve her self of it in the execution of her own destinated ends; and so [by this though not intended co-operation of it with her self] makes it part of her self [whether it will or no;] So may every reasonable Creature, what crosses or impediments soever it meets with [in the course of this mortal life,] it may use them as fit and proper objects, to the furtherance of whatsoever is intended, and absolutely proposed unto it self [as its natural end and happiness.]

Gr. $\delta\pi\mu\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\sigma\iota\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$
See B. VI.
XXXVII.

XXXIV.

XXXIV. Let not the general representation unto thy self of the wretchedness of this our mortal life trouble thee. Let not ** thy mind wander up and down, and heap together in her thoughts* ** Gr. συ-
σπών.* the many troubles and grievous calamities which thou art as subject unto as any other. But as every thing in particular doth happen, put this question unto thy self, and say, What is it that in this present matter seems unto thee so intolerable? For thou wilt be ashamed to confess it. Then upon this presently call to mind, that neither that which is future, nor that which is past can hurt thee; but that onely which is present. (And that also is much lessened, if thou dost rightly circumscribe it.) And then check thy mind, if for so little a while (a mere instant) it cannot hold out with patience.

XXXV. What? are either *Pantheas* or *Pergamus* abiding to this day by their Master's tombs? or either *Chabrias* or *Diotimus* by that of *Adrianus*? O foolery! For what if they did? would their Masters be sensible of it? or if sensible, would they be glad of it? or if glad, were these immortal? Was not it appointed unto them also (both men and women,) to become old in time, and then to dye? And these once dead, what would become of these former? [*And when all is done, what is all this for,*] but for a bag of blond and corruption; [*or, a loathsome carcase?*]

XXXVI. If thou beest quick-sighted, be so in matter of judgment, and best discretion, saith he.

XXXVII. In the whole constitution of a man, I

see not any vertue contrary to justice, whereby it may be resisted and opposed. But one whereby pleasure and voluptuousness may be resisted and opposed, I see, Continnence.

XXXVIII. If thou canst but withdraw conceit and opinion concerning that which may seem hurtfull and offensive, thou thy self art as safe as safe may be. Thou thy self? and who is that? Thy Reason? Yea, but I am not Reason. Well, be it so. However, let not thy Reason [or, *understanding*] admit of grief; and if there be any thing in thee that is grieved, let that (whatsoever it be,) conceive its own grief, [if it can.]

See before
n. XXVI.

XXXIX. That which is an hindrance of the senses, is an evil to the sensitive nature. That which is an hindrance of the appetitive and prosecutive faculty, is an evil to the sensitive nature. As of the sensitive, so of the vegetative constitution, whatsoever is an hindrance unto it, is also in that respect an evil unto the same. And so likewise, whatsoever is an hindrance unto the mind and understanding, must needs be the proper evil of the reasonable nature. Now apply all those things unto thy self. Do either pain or pleasure seize on thee? Let the senses look to that. Hast thou met with some obstacle or other in thy purpose and intention? If thou didst propose without due reservation and exception, now hath thy reasonable part received a blow indeed. But if in general thou didst propose unto thy self whatsoever might be, thou art not thereby either hurt, nor [properly] hindered. For in those things that properly belong

See B. IV.
n. I.

unto

into the mind; she cannot be hindered by any man. It is not Fire, nor Iron, nor the Power of a Tyrant, nor the Power of a flandering Tongue, nor any thing else that can penetrate into her.

XL. If once round and solid, there is no fear that ever it will change.

XLI. Why should I grieve my self, who never did willingly grieve any other? One thing rejoiceth one, and another thing another. As for me, this is my joy. If my understanding be right and sound, as neither averse from any man, nor refusing any of those things which as a man I am subject unto; If I can look upon all things in the world meekly and kindly; accept all things, and carry my self towards every thing according to the true worth of the thing it self.

XLII. This time that is now present, bestow thou upon thy self. They that rather hunt for fame after death, do not consider, that those men that shall be hereafter, will be even such as these, whom now they can so hardly bear with. And besides, they also will be mortal men. But [to consider the thing in it self] if so many wish so many voices shall make such and a sound; or shall have such and such an opinion concerning thee, what is it at all to thee?

XLIII. Take me and throw me where thou wilt: [I am indifferent.] For there also I shall have that Spirit which is within me propitious; that is, well pleased and fully contented, both in that constant disposition, and with those particular actions which to its own proper constitution are suitable and agreeable.

* See Latin Notes.

XLIV. Is this then a thing of that worth, that for it my soul should suffer, and become worse than it was? as either basely dejected, * and cast down; or confounded within it self, or terrified? What can there be that thou shouldst so much esteem?

XLV. Nothing can happen unto thee, which is not incidental unto thee as thou art a man. As nothing can happen either to an ox, a vine, or to a stone, which is not incidental unto them; unto every one in his own kind. If therefore nothing can happen unto any thing which is not both usual and natural; why art thou displeased? Sure the common nature of all would not bring any thing upon any, that were intolerable. If therefore it be a thing external that causeth thy grief, [know, that] it is not that properly that doth cause it, but thine own conceit and opinion concerning the thing; which thou mayst rid thy self of when thou wilt. But if it be somewhat that is amiss in thine own disposition that doth grieve thee, mayst thou not rectifie thy dogma-
[or, moral Tenets and opinions?] But if it grieve thee, that thou dost not perform that which seemeth unto thee right and just, why dost not thou chuse rather to perform it than to grieve? But somewhat that is stronger than thy self doth hinder thee. Let it not grieve thee then, if it be not thy fault that the thing is not performed. Yea, but it is a thing of that nature, as that thy life is not worth the while, except it may be performed. If it be so, upon condition that thou be kindly and lovingly disposed towards

towards all men, thou mayst be gone. For even then, as much as at any time, art thou in a very good estate of performance, when thou dost dye in charity with those that are an obstacle unto thy performance.

XLVI. Remember that thy mind [*is of that nature as that it*] becometh altogether unconquerable, when once recollected in her self; she seeks no other content than this, that she cannot be forced: yea, though it so fall out, that it be even against Reason it self that it doth bandy. How much less when by the help of Reason she is able to judge of things with discretion? And therefore let thy chief Fort and place of defence be a mind free from passions. A stronger place, (whereunto to make his refuge, and so to become impregnable,) and better fortified than this, hath no man. He that seeth not this, is unlearned. He that seeth it, and betaketh not himself to this place of refuge, is unhappy.

XLVII. Keep thy self to the first [*bare and naked*] apprehensions of things, as they present themselves unto thee, and add not unto them. It is reported unto thee, that such a one speaketh ill of thee. Well; that he speaketh ill of thee, so much is reported. But that thou art hurt thereby, is not reported: [*That is the addition of opinion, which thou must exclude.*] I see that my child is sick. That he is sick, I see; but that he is in danger of his life also, I see it not. Thus thou must use to keep thy self to the first notions and apprehensions of things, as they present themselves outwardly; and add not unto them

them from within thy self [*through mere conceits and opinion.*] and thou hast no hurt. Or rather add unto them; but as one that understandeth the true nature of all things that happen in the world.

* *μὴ σέβῃ
ἐπειπὺς.*

XLVIII. Is the Cucumber bitter? set it away. Are Brambles in the way? avoid them. Let this suffice. * *Add not presently, speaking unto thy self.* What serve these things for in the World? For this, one that is acquainted with the mysteries of Nature will laugh at thee for it; as a Carpenter would or a Shoe-maker, if meeting in either of their shops with some shavings, or small remnants of their work, thou shouldst blame them for it. And yet those men, it is not for want of a place where to throw them [*that they keep them in their shops for a while.*] but the nature of the Universe hath no such out-place: but herein doth consist the wonder of her art and skill, that she having once circumscribed her self within some certain bounds and limits, whatsoever is within her that seems either corrupted, or old, or unprofitable, she can change it into her self, and of these very things can make new things; so that she needeth not to seek else-where out of her self either for a new supply of matter and substance, or for a place where to throw out whatsoever is irrecoverably putrid and corrupt. Thus she, as for place, so for matter and art, is her self sufficient unto her self.

XLIX. Not to be slack and negligent, or loose and wanton in thy actions, nor contentious and troublesome in thy conversation, nor

to rove and wander in thy fancies and imaginations. Not basely to contract thy soul; nor boisterously to sally out with it, [*or, furiously to launch out as it were,*] nor ever to want employment.

L. They kill me, they cut my flesh; they persecute my person with curses. What then? May not thy mind for all this continue pure, prudent, temperate, just? As a fountain of sweet and clear water, though she be cursed by some stander-by, yet do her springs nevertheless still run as sweet and clear as before; yea, though either dirt or dung be thrown in, yet is it no sooner thrown than dispersed, and she cleared. She cannot be dyed [*or, infected*] by it. What then must I doe, that I may have [*within my self*], an ever-flowing Fountain, and not a Well? Beget thy self by continual [*pains and endeavours*] to [*true*] liberty with charity, and true simplicity and modesty.

LI. He that knoweth not what the world is, knoweth not where he himself is. And he that knoweth not what the world was made for, cannot possibly know either what are the qualities, or what is the nature of the world. Now he that in either of these is to seek, for what he himself was made is ignorant also. What then dost thou think of that man, who proposeth unto himself, as a matter of great moment, the noise and applause of men, who both where they are, and what they are themselves, are altogether ignorant? Dost thou desire to be commended of that man, who thrice in one hour

perchance doth himself curse himself? Dost thou desire to please him, who pleaseth not himself? or dost thou think that he pleaseth himself, who doth use to repent himself almost of every thing that he doeth?

* Gr. συμ-
νην.

LII. Not onely now henceforth to * have a common breath [or, to hold correspondency of breath,] with that Air that compasseth us about; but * to have a common mind [or, to hold correspondency of mind] also with that rational substance which compasseth all things. For that also is of it self, and of its own nature (if a man can but draw it in as he should,) every where diffused; and passeth through all things, no less than the Air doth, if a man can but suck it in.

* Gr. συμ-
νην.

See before
in xxxij.

LIII. Wickedness in general doth not hurt the World. Particular wickedness doth not hurt any other: onely unto him it is hurtfull [whosoever he be that offends,] unto whom [in great favour and mercy] it is granted, that whensoever he himself shall but first desire it, he may be presently delivered of it. Unto my Free-will my neighbour's free-will, whoever he be, (as his life, or his body) is altogether indifferent. For although we are all made one for another, yet have our minds and understandings each of them their own proper and limited jurisdiction. For else another man's wickedness might be my evil; which God would not have, that it might not be in another man's power to make me unhappy: [which nothing now can doe but mine own wickedness.]

LIV. The Sun seemeth to be shed abroad.

And

And indeed it is *diffused*, but not *effused*. For that *diffusion* of it is a *raion* or an extension. For therefore are the beams of it called *actives* from the word *enleivadz*, *to be stretched out and extended*. Now what a Sun-beam is, thou mayst know if thou observest the light of the Sun, when through some narrow hole it pierceth into some room that is dark. For it is always in a direct line. And as by any solid body that it meets with in the way that is not penetrable by Air, it is divided and *abrupted*, and yet neither slides off, or falls down, but stayeth there nevertheless: such must the *diffusion* of the mind be; not an effusion, but an extension. What obstacles and impediments soever she meeteth with in her way, she must not violently and by way of an impetuous onset light upon them; neither must she fall down; but she must stand and give light unto that which doth admit of it. For as for that which doth not, [it is its own fault and loss, if] it bereave it self of her light.

LV. He that feareth Death, either feareth that he shall have no sense at all, or that his senses will not be the same. Whereas [he should rather comfort himself, that] either no sense at all, and so no sense of evil; or if any sense, then another life, and so no death [properly.]

LVI. All men are made one for another: either then teach them better, or bear with them.

LVII. The motion of the mind is not as the motion of a dart. For the mind when it is wary and cautelous, and by way of diligent circumspection

cumspection turneth her self many ways, may then as well be said to go streight on to the object, [*as when it useth no such circumspetion.*]

See B. IX.
n. XVI.
B.I. n. XI.

LVIII. To pierce and penetrate into the estate of every ones understanding [*that thou hast to doe with:*] as also to make the estate of thine own open and penetrable to any other.

THE NINTH BOOK.

HE that is unjust, is also impious. For the Nature of the Universe having made all reasonable creatures one for another, to the end that they should doe one another good, more or less, according to the severall persons and occasions; but in no wise hurt one another: it is manifest that he that doth transgress against this her will, is guilty of impiety towards the most ancient and venerable of all the Deities. For the Nature of the Universe is the nature [*the common Parent of all, and therefore piously to be observed*] of all things that are; and that which now is, to whatsoever first was, and gave it its being, hath relation of blood and kindred. She is also called *Truth*; and is the first cause of all truths. He therefore that willingly and wittingly doth lye, is impious in that he doth deceive, and so commit injustice; but he that against his will, in that he

he disagreeeth from the nature of the Universe,
 and in that striving with the nature of the
 World, he doth in his particular * *violate the* Gr. ἀ-
general order of the world. For he doeth no bet- νοσμή.
 ter than strive and war against it, who con-
 trary to his own Nature applieth himself to
 that which is contrary to truth. For Nature
 had before furnished him with instincts and
 opportunities [*sufficient for the attainment of*
it:] which he having hitherto neglected, is
 not now able to discern that which is false
 from that which is true. He also that pursues
 after pleasures, as that which is truly good, See n. V.
 and flies from pains, as that which is truly evil, upon B.II.
 is impious. For such a one must of necessity
 oftentimes accuse that common Nature, as distri-
 buting many things both unto the evil and un-
 to the good, not according to the deserts of ei-
 ther: as unto the bad oftentimes pleasures,
 and the causes of pleasures; so unto the good,
 pains, and the occasions of pains. Again,
 he that feareth pains and crosses in the World,
 feareth some of those things which sometime
 or other must needs happen in the World. And
 that we have already shewed to be impious. And
 he that pursueth after pleasures, will not spare
 [*to compass his desires*] to doe that which is un-
 just, and that is manifestly impious. Now
 those things which unto Nature are equally in-
 different, (for she had not created both pain
 and pleasure, if both had not been unto her
 equally indifferent;) they that will live accor-
 ding to Nature, must in those things (as being
 of the same mind and disposition that she is)
 be

be as equally indifferent. Whosoever therefore in either matter of pleasure and pain, death and life, honour and dishonour; (which things Nature in the administration of the world indifferently doth make use of,) is not as indifferent, it is apparent that he is impious. When I say that common Nature doth indifferently make use of them, my meaning is, that they happen indifferently in the ordinary course of things, which by a necessary consequence, whether as principal and accessory, come to pass in the World; according to that first and ancient deliberation of Providence, by which she from some certain beginning did resolve upon the creation of such a World, ** conceiving then in her womb as it were some certain rational generative seeds and faculties of things future, whether subjects, changes, successions; both such and such, and just so many.*

* Gr. συλ-
λαβῶσα
πρὸς λό-
γῳ.

II. It were indeed more happy and comfortable, for a man to depart out of this World, having lived all his life long clear from all falsehood, dissimulation, voluptuousness, and pride. But if this cannot be, yet is it some comfort for a man [*joyfully*] to depart [*as*] weary, and out of love with those; rather than to desire to live, and to continue long in these wicked courses. Hath not yet experience taught thee to flee from the plague? For a far greater plague is the corruption of the mind, than any certain change and distemper of the common air can be. This is a plague of creatures, as they are living creatures; but that

that of men as they are men [or reasonable.]

III. Thou must not in matter of death carry thy self scornfully, but as one that is well pleased with it, as being one of those things that Nature hath appointed. For what thou dost conceive of these, of a boy to become a young man, to wax old, to grow, to ripen, to get teeth, or a beard, or gray hairs; to beget, to bear, or to be delivered; or what other action soever it be that is natural unto man according to the several seasons of his life; such a thing is it also to be dissolved.

It is therefore the part of a wise man, in matter of death, not in any wise to carry himself either violently or proudly; but patiently to wait for it, as one of Nature's operations: that with the same mind as now thou dost expect when that which yet is but an *Embryo* in thy Wife's belly shall come forth, thou mayst expect also when thy soul shall fall off from that [outward coat or skin,] wherein [as a child in the belly] it lieth involved and shut up. But if thou desirest

a * more popular, and [though not so direct and philosophical, yet] a very powerfull and penetrative receipt against the fear of death; Nothing can make thee more willing to part with thy life, than if thou shalt consider, both what the subjects themselves are that thou shalt part with, and what manner of dispositions thou shalt no more have to doe with. True it is, that offended with them thou must not be by any means, but take care of them, and meekly bear with them. However, this thou mayst remember, that whensoever it happens that thou depart, it shall not be from men that held the same *Dogmata*,

[or,

See Note upon B. XI. n. III.

* Gr. ἰσχυρὴ καὶ διεισδυτικὴ ἐπιμύμησις.

[or, opinions in point of life and practice] that thou dost. For that indeed, (if it were so) is the onely thing that might make thee averſe from death, and willing to continue here, if it were thy hap to live with men that had obtained the ſame principles [or, belief] that thou haſt. But now, what a toil it is for thee to live with men, whoſe courſe of life is ſo different from thine, thou ſeeſt, ſo that thou haſt rather occaſion to ſay, *Haſten, I thee pray, O death; leſt I alſo in time forget my ſelf.*

IV. He that ſinneth, ſinneth unto himſelf. He that is unjuſt, hurts himſelf, in that he makes himſelf worſe than he was before. Not he onely that committeth, but he alſo that omitteth ſomething, is oftentimes unjuſt.

V. If my preſent apprehenſion of the object be right, and my preſent action charitable, and this, towards whatſoever doth proceed from God, be my preſent diſpoſition, to be well pleaſed with it, it ſufficeth.

VI. To wipe away fancy, to uſe deliberation, to quench concupiſcence, to keep the mind free to her ſelf.

VII. Of all unreaſonable creatures, there is but one unreaſonable ſoul; and of all that are reaſonable, but one reaſonable Soul; divided betwixt them all. As of all earthly things there is but one Earth; and but one light that we ſee by; and but one air that we breathe in, as many as either breathe or ſee. Now whatſoever partakes of ſome common thing, naturally affects and enclines unto that whereof it is a part, being of one kind and nature with it. Whatſoever is earthly, preſſeth downwards to the common

non Earth. Whatsoever is liquid, would flow together. And whatsoever is airy, would be together likewise. So that without some obstacle, and some kind of violence, they cannot well be kept asunder. Whatsoever is fiery, doth not onely by reason of the Elementary fire and upwards; but here also is so ready to join, and to burn together, that whatsoever doth want sufficient moisture to make resistance, is easily set on fire. Whatsoever therefore is partaker of that reasonable common Nature [*naturally*] doth as much and more long after his own kind. For by how much in its own nature it excells all other things, by so much more is it desirous to be joined and united unto that which is of its own nature. As for unreasonabe creatures then, they had not long been, but presently begun among them swarms, and flocks, and broods of young ones, and a kind of mutual love and affection. For [*though but unreasonabe, yet*] a [*kind of*] soul these had; and therefore was that natural desire of union, more strong and intense in them, as in creatures of a more excellent nature, than either in plants, or stones, or trees. But among reasonable creatures began Common-wealths, friendships, families, publick meetings, and even in their wars conventions and truces. Now among them that were yet of a more excellent nature, as the stars and planets, though by their nature far distant one from another, yet even among them began some mutual correspondency and unity. So proper is it to excellency in a high degree to affect

affect unity, as that even in things so far distant, it could operate unto a mutual Sympathy. But now behold, what is now come to pass. Those creatures that are reasonable, are now the onely creatures that have forgotten their natural affection and inclination of one towards another. Among them alone [*of all other things that are of one kind*] there is not to be found a *general disposition to flow together*. But though they fly from Nature, yet are they stopt in their course, and apprehended. Doe they what they can, Nature doth prevail. And so shalt thou confesse, if thou dost observe it. For sooner mayst thou find a thing earthly where no other earthly thing is; than find a man that [*naturally*] can live by himself alone.

VIII. Man, God, the World, every one in their kind, bear some fruits. All things have their proper time *to bear*. Though by custome, the word it self is in a manner become proper unto the Vine, and the like, yet is it so nevertheless as we have said. As for reason, that beareth both common fruit for the use of others, and peculiar, which it self doth enjoy. What it self is in it self, it begets in others; and so doth multiply.

IX. Either teach them better, if it be in thy power; or if it be not, remember that for this use [*to bear with them patiently*] was mildness and goodness granted unto thee. The gods themselves are good unto such; yea and in some things, (as in matter of health, of wealth, of honour,) are content often to further their endeavours: for

good

good and gracious are they. And mightest thou not be so too? or, tell me, what doth hinder thee?

X. Labour not as one [*to whom it is appointed to be*] wretched, nor as one that either would be pitied, or admired; but let this be thine only care and desire, so always and in all things to prosecute or to forbear, as the law of Charity [or, *mutual society*] doth require.

XI. This day *I did come out* of all my trouble. Nay, I *have cast out* all my trouble; it should rather be. For that which troubled thee, whatsoever it was, was not *without* any where, [that thou shouldest *come out* of it;] but *within* in thine own opinions, from whence it must be *cast out*, before thou canst truly and constantly be at ease.

XII. All those things, for matter of experience, are usual and ordinary; for their continuance, but for a day; and for their matter, most base and filthy. As they were in the days of those whom we have buried, so are they now also, and no otherwise.

XIII. The things themselves [*that affect us*] they stand without doors, neither knowing any thing themselves, nor able to utter any thing to others concerning themselves. What then is that passeth verdict on them? The understanding.

XIV. As vertue and wickedness consist not in passion, but in action; so neither doth the true good or evil of a reasonable charitable man consist in passion, but in operation and action.

XV. To the stone that is cast up, when it comes
N down

down it is no hurt unto it : as neither benefit, when it doth ascend.

XVI. Sift their minds and understandings, and behold what men they be whom thou dost stand in fear of, what they shall judge of thee, what they themselves judge of themselves.

XVII. All things that are in the world are always in the state of alteration. Thou also art in a perpetual change, yea and under corruption too, in some part : and so is the whole world.

XVIII. It is [*not thine, but*] another man's sin. [*Why should it trouble thee?*] Let him look to it whose sin it is.

XIX. Of an operation and of a purpose there is *an ending*, [or of an action and of a purpose we say commonly, that *it is at an end*.] from opinion also there is an [*absolute*] cessation, which is as it were the death of it. In all this there is no hurt. Apply this now to a man's age ; as first, a child, then a youth, then a young man, then an old man : every change from one age to another is a kind of death. And all this while here is no matter of grief yet. Pass now unto that life, first, that which thou livest under thy Grandfather, then under thy Mother, then under thy Father. And thus when through the whole course of thy life hitherto thou hast found and observed many alterations, many changes, many kinds of *endings* and cessations, put this question to thy self, What matter of grief or sorrow dost thou find in any of these? [or, *what dost thou suffer through any of these?*] If in none of these, then neither in the

the ending and consummation of thy whole life,
[which also is but] a cessation and change.

XX. [As occasion shall require,] either to
thine own Understanding, or to that of the U-
niverse, or to his [whom thou hast now to doe
with,] let thy refuge be with all speed. To
thine own, that it resolve upon nothing against
justice. To that of the Universe, that thou
mayst remember, part of whom thou art. Of
his [whom thou hast now to doe with,] that
thou mayst consider, whether in the estate of
ignorance, or of knowledge. And then also
must thou call to mind, that he is thy Kins-
man.

XXI. As thou thy self [whoever thou art] *was*
made for the perfection and consummati-
on [being a member of it] of a common socie-
ty; so must every action of thine tend to the per-
fection and consummation of a life that is [tru-
ly] sociable. What action soever of thine there-
fore that either immediately or afar off hath not
reference to the common good, that is an exorbi-
tant and disorderly action; yea, it is seditious;
as one among the people whom from such and
such a consent and unity, should factiously divide
and separate himself.

XXII. Childrens anger, mere baubles, wret-
ched souls bearing up dead bodies, that they
may not have their fall so soon: Even as it is in
that common dirge-song, [or, bearing up dead
bodies, that the number of the dead may not be full
so soon.]

XXIII. Go to the quality of the cause [from
which the effect doth proceed.] Behold it by it
self

self bare and naked, separated from all that is material. Then consider the utmost bounds of time which that cause, thus and thus qualified, can subsist and abide.

XXIV. Infinite are the troubles and miseries that thou hast already been put to, by reason of this onely, because that for all happiness it did not suffice thee, [or, *that thou didst not account it sufficient happiness,*] that thy understanding did operate according to its natural constitution. It is time to make an end, [and to begin a new course.]

See before
n. IX.

XXV. When any shall either impeach thee with false accusations, or hatefully reproach thee, or shall use any such carriage towards thee, get thee presently to their minds and understandings, and look in them, and behold what manner of men they be. Thou shalt see that there is no such occasion why it should trouble thee, what such as they are think of thee. Yet must thou love them still, for by nature they are thy friends. And the gods themselves, in those things that they seek from them as matters of great moment, are well content, all manner of ways (*as by dreams and oracles*) to help them [as well as others.]

XXVI. Up and down, from one age to another, goe the ordinary things of the world; being still the same. And either of every thing in particular [*before it come to pass,*] the mind of the Universe doth consider with it self and deliberate; and if so, then submit [*for shame*] unto the determination of [*such an excellent*] Understanding: or once for all it did

did resolve upon all things in general; and since that, whatsoever happens, happens by a necessary consequence; and all things *indivisibly in a manner, and inseparably*, hold one of another. In summe, either there is a God, and then all is well; or if all things goe by chance and fortune, yet mayst thou use thine own Providence *[in those things that concern thee properly, and then thou art well.]*

XXVII. Within a while the Earth shall cover us all, and then she her self shall have her change. And then the course will be, from one period of eternity unto another, and so a perpetual eternity. Now, can any man that shall consider with himself in his mind the several rollings *[or, successions]* of so many changes and alterations, and the swiftness of all these rollings; can he otherwise but contemn in his heart, and despise all worldly things? The Cause of the Universe *[or, the general cause]* is as it were a strong torrent, it carrieth all away.

XXVIII. And these your professed Politicians, the onely true practick Philosophers of the world, (as they think of themselves) ** so full of affected gravity, [or, such profess'd lovers of vertue and honesty,]* what wretches be they in very deed? how vile and contemptible in themselves? O man! what a doe dost thou keep? Doe what thy nature doth now require. Resolve upon it, if thou mayst: and take no thought; whether any body shall know it or not. Yea, but *[sayst thou]* I must not expect a Plato's Common-wealth. If they profit though

* Gr. *ἡρώδης*
ἡρώδης

never so little, I must be content; and think much even of that little progress. Doth then any of them forsake their former [false] opinions [that I should think they profit?] For without a change of opinions, alas! what is all that ostentation, but their wretchedness of slavish minds, that groan privately, and yet would make a shew of obedience [to Reason and Truth?] Go to now, and tell me of Alexander and Philippus, and Demetrius Phalerem. Whether they understood what the common nature requireth, and could rule themselves or no, they know best themselves. But if they kept a life, and swaggered; I (God be thanked) am not bound to imitate them. The effect of true Philosophy is; unaffected simplicity and modesty. Persuade me not to ostentation and vain-glory.

See B. VII.
n. XXVI.

XXIX. From some high place as it were to look down, and to behold, here flocks, and there sacrifices without number; and all kind of navigation; some in a rough and stormy sea, and some in a calm: the general differences [or, different estates] of things, some, that are now first upon being; the several and mutual relations of those things that are together; and some other things that are at their last. Their lives also who were long ago, and theirs who shall be after thee, and the present estate and life of those many nations of Barbarians that are now in the World, thou must likewise consider in thy mind. And how many there be who never so much as heard of thy Name, how many that will soon forget it; how many who

but even now did commend thee, within a very little while, perchance, will speak ill of thee. So that neither fame, nor honour, nor any thing else that this world doth afford, is worth the while. The summe then of all; Whatsoever doth happen unto thee, whereof God is the cause, to accept it contentedly: whatsoever thou doest, whereof thou thy self art the cause, to doe it justly: which will be, if both in thy resolution and in thy action thou have no farther end, than to doe good unto others, as being that which *by thy natural constitution* [or, *as a man,*] thou art bound unto.

XXX. Many of those things that trouble and straiten thee, it is in thy power to cut off, as wholly depending from mere conceit and opinion, and then thou shalt have room enough.

XXXI. To comprehend the whole world together in thy mind, and the whole course of this present age, to represent it unto thy self, and to fix thy thoughts upon the sudden change of every particular object. How short the time is from the generation of any thing, unto the dissolution of the same; but how immense and infinite both that which was before the generation, and that which after the generation of it shall be. All things that thou seest will soon be perished, and they that see their corruptions will soon vanish away themselves. He that dieth a hundred years old, [or, extreme old,] and he that dieth young, shall come all to one.

XXXII. What are their minds and under-standings,

standings, and what the things that they apply themselves unto? what do they love, and what do they hate for? Fancie to thy self the estate of their souls openly to be seen. When they *think* they hurt them shrewdly whom they speak ill of, and when they *think* they doe them a very good turn whom they commend and extoll; O how full are they then of conceit and opinion!

XXXIII. Loss and corruption is in very deed nothing else but change and alteration; and that is it which the Nature of the Universe doth most delight in, by which and according to which, whatsoever is done, is well done. For that was the estate of worldly things from the beginning, and so shall it ever be. Or wouldst thou rather say, that all things in the world have gone ill [*from the beginning for so many Ages,*] and shall ever go ill? And then among so many Deities, could no Divine power be found all this while, that could rectifie the things of the world? Or is the world to incessant woes and miseries for ever condemned?

XXXIV. How base and putrid every common matter is! Water, dust, [*and from the mixture of these*] bones, and all that loathsome stuff [*that our bodies do consist of;*] so subject to be infected and corrupted. And again [*those other things that are so much prized and admired, as*] marble-stones [*what are they but, as it were*] the Kernels of the Earth? gold and silver, [*what are they, but as*] the more gross dregs of the Earth? Thy [*most royal*] appa-

rel,

el, for matter, it is but as it were the hair [*of a silly sheep*]; and for colour, the very blood [*of a shell-fish*]. Of this nature are all other things. Thy life it self is some such thing too; [*a mere exhalation of blood*]; and it also apt to be changed into some other common thing.

XXXV. Will this querulousness, this murmuring, this complaining, and dissembling [*or apish complying*] never be at an end? What then is it that troubleth thee? Doth any new thing happen unto thee? What dost thou so wonder at? At the cause, or the matter? Behold either by it self, [*is either of that weight or moment indeed?*] And besides these, there is not any thing. But thy duty towards the gods also, it is time that thou shouldst acquit thy self of it with more goodness and simplicity.

XXXVI. It is all one to see these things for a hundred years together, or but for three years.

XXXVII. If he have sinned, his is the harm, not mine. But perchance he hath not.

XXXVIII. Either all things by the providence of Reason happen unto every particular, as a part of one general body; and then it is against reason that a part should complain of any thing that happens for the good of the Whole: or if [*according to Epicurus*] *Atoms* [*be the Cause of all things*], and [*that life be*] nothing else but an accidentary confusion of things, and [*death nothing else but*] a mere Dispersion, [*and so of all other things*]; what dost thou trouble thy self for?

XXXIX. Sayst thou unto that Rational part, thou art dead; corruption hath taken hold

hold on thee? Doth it then also void excrements? Doth it, like either Oxen or Sheep, graze or feed; [*that it also should be mortal, as well as the body?*]

XL. Either the gods can doe nothing for us at all, or they can still and allay all the distractions and distempers of thy mind. If they can doe nothing, why dost thou pray? If they can, why wouldst thou not rather pray, that they will grant unto thee, that thou mayst neither fear nor lust after any of those [*worldly*] things [*which cause these distractions and distempers of it?*]. Why not rather, that thou mayst not at either their absence or presence be grieved and discontented; than either that thou mayst obtain them, or that thou mayst avoid them? For certainly it must needs be, that if the gods can help us in any thing, they may in this kind also. But thou wilt say perchance, In those things the gods have given me my liberty: and it is in mine own power to doe what I will. But if thou mayst use this liberty, rather to set thy mind at true liberty, than wilfully with baseness and servility of mind to affect those things, which [*either to compass or to avoid*] is not in thy power; wert not thou better? And as for the gods, who hath told thee that they cannot help us even in those things that they have put in our own power? Whether it be so or no, thou shalt soon perceive, if thou wilt but try thy self and pray. One prayeth that he may compass his desire, to lie with such or such a one; pray thou that thou mayst not lust to lie with her. Another,

how

how he may be rid of such a one; pray thou that thou [mayst so patiently bear with him, as that thou] have no such need to be rid of him. Another, that he may not lose his child; pray thou that thou mayst not fear to lose him. To this end and purpose let all thy prayers be, and see what will be the event?

XLII. In my sickness (saith Epicurus of himself,) my discourses were not concerning the nature of my disease, neither was that the subject of my talk to them that came to visit me; but in the consideration and contemplation of that which was of especial weight and moment, was all my time bestowed and spent, and among others in this very thing, how my mind by a natural and unavoidable sympathy, partaking in some sort with the present indisposition of my body, might nevertheless keep herself free from trouble, and in present possession of her own proper happiness. Neither did I, saith he, leave the ordering of my body to Physicians altogether to doe with me what they would, as though I expected any great matter from them, [or, as though I thought it a matter of such great consequence, by their means to recover my health:] for my present estate, methought, liked me very well, and gave me good content. Whether therefore in sickness (if thou chance to sicken,) or in what other kind of extremity soever, endeavour thou also to be in thy mind so affected, as he doth report of himself: not to depart from thy Philosophy for any thing that can befall thee, nor to give ear to the discourses of silly people and mere naturalists.

XLII. It is common to all trades and professions to mind and intend that onely which now they are about, and the instrument whereby they work.

XLIII. When at any time thou art offended with any ones impudency, put presently this question to thy self; What? Is it then possible that there should not be any impudent men in the world? Certainly it is not possible. Desire not then that which is impossible. For this one, (thou must think) whosoever he be, is one of those impudent ones that the world cannot be without. So of the subtile and crafty, so of the perfidious, so of every one that offendeth, must thou ever be ready to reason with thy self. For whilst in general thou dost thus reason with thy self, that the kind of them must needs be in the world, thou wilt be the better able to use meekness towards every particular. This also thou shalt find of very good use, upon every such occasion, presently to consider with thy self, what proper vertue nature hath furnished man with against such a vice, [or, to encounter with a disposition vitious in this kind.] As for example, against the unthankfull, it hath given goodness and meekness, as an antidote; and so against another [vitious in another kind] some other peculiar faculty. And generally, is it not in thy power to instruct him better that is in an error? For whosoever sinneth, doth in that decline from his purposed end, and is certainly deceived. And again, what art thou the worse for his sin? For thou shalt not find that any one of these against whom thou art incensed, hath

hath in very deed done any thing whereby thy mind (the onely true subject of thy hurt and evil) can be made worse than it was. And what a matter of either grief or wonder is this, if he that is *unlearned* doe the deeds of one that is *unlearned*? Shouldst not thou rather blame thy self, who, when upon very good grounds of reason, thou mightest have thought it very probable that such a thing would by such a one be committed, didst not onely not foresee it, but moreover dost wonder at it, that such a thing should be? But then especially, when thou dost find fault with either an unthankfull or a false man, must thou reflect upon thy self. For without all question thou thy self art much in fault, if either of one that were of such a disposition, thou didst expect that he should be true unto thee: or when unto any thou didst a good turn, thou didst not there bound thy thoughts, as one that had obtained his end; nor didst think that from the action it self thou hadst received a full reward of the good that thou hadst done. For what wouldst thou have more? Unto him that is a man thou hast done a good turn: doth not that suffice thee? What thy nature required, that hast thou done. Must thou be rewarded for it? As if either the eye for that it seeth, or the feet for that they go, should require satisfaction. For as these being by nature appointed for such an use, can challenge no more than that they may work according to their natural constitution: so man being born to doe good unto others, whensoever he doeth a real good unto any [*by helping them*

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out of error;] or though but in middle things, [as in matter of wealth, life, preferment, and the like] doth help to further their desires; he doth that for which he was made, and therefore can require no more.

THE TENTH BOOK.

O My soul, the time, I trust, will be, when thou shalt be good, simple, single, more open and visible, than that body by which thou art inclosed. Thou wilt one day be sensible of their happiness, whose end is love, and their affections dead to all worldly things. Thou shalt one day be full, and in want of no external thing: not seeking pleasure from any thing, either living or unsensible, that this World can afford; neither waiting time for the continuation of thy pleasure, nor place and opportunity, nor the favour either of the weather or of men. When thou shalt have content in thy present estate, and all things present shall add to thy content: when thou shalt persuade thy self, that thou hast all things, at present; all for thy good, and all by the providence of the gods: and of things future also shalt be as confident, that whatsoever they shall think fit to send, it will all doe well, as tending to the maintenance and preservation in some sort of his perfect welfare and happiness, who is perfection of life, of goodness, justice,

See B. V.
n. VIII.
last lines.

justice, and beauty; who begets all things, and containeth all things in himself, and in himself doth recollect all things from all places that are dissolved, that of them he may beget others again like unto them. Such one day shall be thy disposition, that thou shalt be able, both in regard of the gods, and in regard of men, so to fit and order thy conversation, as neither to complain of them at any time, for any thing that they doe; nor to doe any thing thy self, for which thou mayst [*justly*] be condemned.

II. As one who is altogether governed by nature, let it be thy care to observe what it is that thy nature [*in general*] doth require. That done, if thou find not that thy nature, as thou art a living sensible creature, will be the worse for it, thou mayst proceed. Next then thou must examine, what thy nature, as thou art a living sensible creature, doth require. And that, whatsoever it be, thou mayst admit of and doe it, if thy nature, as thou art a reasonable living creature, will not be the worse for it. Now whatsoever is reasonable, is also *sociable*. Keep thy self to these rules, and trouble not thy self about idle things.

III. Whatsoever doth happen unto thee, thou art naturally by thy natural constitution either able, or not able, to bear. If thou beest able, be not offended, but bear it according to thy natural constitution [*or, as nature hath enabled thee.*] If thou beest not able, be not offended. For it will soon make an end of thee, and it self (whatsoever it be) at the same

same time end with thee. But remember, that whatsoever by the strength of opinion, grounded upon a certain apprehension of both [*true*] profit and duty, thou canst conceive tolerable; that thou art able to bear that by thy natural constitution.

See B. VIII.
B. XIV,
XXX.

IV. Him that offends, to teach with love and meekness, and to shew him his error. But if thou canst not, then to blame thy self; or rather not thy self neither, [*if thy will and endeavours have not been wanting.*]

V. Whatsoever it be that happens unto thee, it is that which from all time was appointed unto thee. For by the same coherence of causes, by which thy substance from all eternity was appointed to be, was also whatsoever should happen unto it destinated and appointed.

VI. Either [*with Epicurus, we must fondly imagine*] the Atoms [*to be the cause of all things;*] or [*we must needs grant*] a Nature. Let this then be thy first ground, that thou art part of that Universe which is governed by Nature. Then, secondly, that to those parts that are of the same kind and Nature as thou art, thou hast relation of kindred. For of these if I shall always be mindfull, first as I am a part, I shall never be displeased with any thing that falls to my particular share of the common chances of the world. For nothing that is behovefull unto the whole, can be [*truly*] hurtfull to that which is part of it. For this being the common privilege of all natures, that they contain nothing in themselves that is hurtfull unto them; it cannot be that the nature of the Universe (whose privilege be-
yond

yond other particular natures, is; that she cannot against her will by any higher external cause be constrained;) should beget any thing *[and cherish it in her bosom]* that should tend to her own hurt and prejudice. As then I bear in mind that I am a part of such an Universe; I shall not be displeased with any thing that happens. And as I have relation of kindred to those parts that are of the same kind and nature that I am, so I shall be careful to doe nothing that is prejudicial to the community; but in all my deliberations shall they that are of my Kind ever be; and the common good; that which all my intentions and resolutions shall drive unto; is that which is contrary unto it; I shall by all means endeavour to prevent and avoid. These things once so fixed and concluded, as thou wouldest think him an happy Citizen, whose constant study and practice were for the good and benefit of his fellow-Citizens; and the carriage of the City such towards him, that he were well pleased with it; so must it needs be with thee, that thou shalt live a happy life.

VII. All parts of the world, (all things I mean that are contained within the whole world;) must of necessity at some time or other come to corruption; Alteration. I should say, to speak truly and properly; but that I may be the better understood, I am content at this time to use that more common word. Now say I, if so be that this be both hurtfull unto them, and yet unavoidable, would not, thinkest thou, the whole it self be in a sweet case; all

the parts of it being subject to alteration, yea and by their making it self fitted for corruption, as consisting of things different and contrary? And did nature then either on her self thus project and purpose the affliction and misery of her parts, and therefore of purpose so made them, not onely that haply they might, but of necessity that they should fall into evil? or did not she know what she did, when she made them? For either of these two to say, is equally absurd. But to let pass nature in general, and to reason of things particular according to their own particular natures; how absurd and ridiculous is it, first to say, that all parts of the whole are, by their proper natural constitution, subject to alteration; and then when any such thing doth happen [*as when one doth fall sick and dyeth*] to take on, and wonder as though some strange thing had happened. Though this besides might move not so grievously to take on when any such thing doth happen, that whatsoever is dissolved, it is dissolved into those things whereof it was compounded. For every dissolution is either a mere dispersion of the Elements into those Elements again, wheteof every thing did consist, or a change of that which is more solid, into Earth, and of that which is pure and subtile [*or spiritual*] into air. So that [*by this means nothing is lost, but*] all resumed again into those rational generative seeds of the Universe; and this Universe, either after a certain period of time to be consumed by fire, or by continual changes to be renewed, and so for ever to endure.

Now

Now that solid and *spiritual* that we speak of, thou must not conceive it to be that very *same* which at first was, when thou wert born. For, alas! all this that now thou art in either kind [*either for matter of substance; or, of life;*] hath but two or three days ago partly from meats eaten, and partly from air breathed in, received all its ** influx*, [*being the same then,* ** Gr. ὁμογενῆς* *which it was at first when thou wert born, in no other respect than a running river, maintained by the perpetual influx and new supply of waters, is the same.*] That therefore which thou hast since received, not that which came from thy Mother, is that which comes to change [*and corruption.*] But suppose that that [*for the general substance, and more solid part of it,*] should still cleave unto thee never so close; yet what is that to the proper qualities and affections of it, [*by which persons are distinguished*] which certainly are quite different?

VIII. Now that thou hast taken these names upon thee of good, modest, true; of εὖμερον, ἡμερον, ἁπλομερον; take heed lest at any times [*by doing any thing that is ordinary,*] thou be but improperly so called, and lose thy right to these appellations. Or if thou do, return unto them again with all possible speed. And remember, that the word εὖμερον notes unto thee an intent and intelligent consideration of every object that presents it self unto thee, without distraction. And the word ὁμομερον, a ready and contented acceptance of whatsoever by the appointment of the common nature happens unto thee. And the word ὑπερμερον, a *super-ex-*

tenſion [or, a transcendent, and outreaching diſpoſition] of thy mind, whereby it paſſeth by all bodily pains and pleaſures, honour and credit, death, and whatſoever is of the ſame Nature, [*as matters of absolute indifferency, and is no wiſe to be ſtood upon by a wiſe man.*] Theſe then if inviolably thou ſhalt obſerve, and ſhalt not be ambitious to be ſo called by others, both thou thy ſelf ſhalt become a new man, and thou ſhalt begin a new life. For to continue ſuch as hitherto thou haſt been, to undergo thoſe diſtractions and diſtempers [*as thou muſt needs*] for ſuch a life [*as biſtherto thou haſt lived,*] is the part of one that is very fooliſh, and is over-ſond of his life. Whom a man might compare to one of thoſe half-eaten wretches, matched in the Amphitheatre with wild beaſts; who, as full as they are all the body over with wounds and blood, deſire for a great favour, that they may be reſerved till the next day, then alſo, and in the ſame eſtate to be expoſed to the ſame nails and teeth as before. Away therefore, ſhip thy ſelf, and [*from the troubles and diſtractions of thy former life*] convey thy ſelf as it were unto theſe few Names; and if thou canſt abide in them [*or, be conſtant in the practice and poſſeſſion of them,*] continue there [*as glad and joyfull*] as one that were tranſlated unto ſome ſuch place [*of bliſs and happineſs,*] as [*that which by Heſiod and Plato is called*] the Iſlands of the Bleſſed, [*by others called the Elyſian fields.*] And whenſoever thou findeſt thy ſelf, that thou art in danger of a relapſe, and that thou art not able

to master and overcome [*those difficulties and temptations that present themselves in thy present station :*] get thee into thy private corner, where thou mayst be better able. Or if that will not serve, forsake even thy life rather. But so that it be not in passion, but in a plain voluntary modest way : this being the onely commendable action of thy whole life, that thus thou art departed : [*or, this having been the main work and business of thy whole life, that thou mightest thus depart.*] Now for the better remembrance of those names that we have spoken of, thou shalt find it a very good help, to remember the gods [*as often as may be ;*] and that the thing which they require at our hands, of as many of us as are by nature reasonable creatures ; is not that [*with fair words, and outward shew of piety and devotion*] we should flatter them, but that we should become like unto them : and that as all other natural creatures, the Fig-tree for example, the Dog, the Bee, both doe, all of them, and apply themselves unto that which by their natural constitution is proper unto them ; so Man likewise should doe that which by his Nature, as he is a Man, belongs unto him.

IX. Toys and fooleries [*at home ;*] wars [*abroad ;*] sometimes terror, sometimes torpor, [*or, stupid sloth :*] this is thy daily slavery. By little and little [*if thou dost not better look to it*] those sacred *Dogmata* will be blotted out of thy mind. How many things be there, which when, as a mere naturalist, thou hast barely considered of according to their nature, thou dost

let pass without any farther use? Whereas thou shouldst in all things so join action and contemplation, that thou mightest both at the same time attend all present occasions, to perform every thing duly and carefully; and yet so intend the contemplative part too, that no part of that delight and pleasure which the contemplative knowledge of every thing, according to its true nature, doth of its self afford, might be lost. [Or, that the true and contemplative knowledge of every thing according to its own nature, might of it self, (action being subject to many lets and impediments) afford unto thee sufficient pleasure and happiness.] Not apparent indeed, but not concealed. And when shalt thou attain to the happiness of true Simplicity, and unaffected gravity? When shalt thou rejoice in the certain knowledge of every particular object according to its true Nature: as what the matter and substance of it is; what the use it is for in the world; how long it can subsist; what things it doth consist of; who they be that are capable of it, and who they that can give it and take it away?

X. As the Spider, when it hath caught the Fly that it hunted after, is not a little proud, nor meanly conceited of it self; as he likewise that hath caught an Hare, or hath taken a Fish with his * net; as another for the taking of a Boar, and another of a Bear: so may they be proud, and applaud themselves for their valiant acts against the Sarmata [or, Northern Nations lately defeated.] For these also, [these famous souldiers and warlike men,] if thou dost look

* Gr. *ῥαβδόν*
X.

See notes.

into

into their minds and opinions, what doe they for the most part but hunt after prey?

XI. To find out, and set to thy self some certain way and method of contemplation, whereby thou mayst clearly discern and represent unto thy self the mutual change of all things, the one into the other. Bear it in thy mind evermore, and see that thou be thoroughly well exercised in this particular. For there is not any thing more effectual to beget true magnanimity.

XII. He hath got loose from, [or, *he hath shaken off the bonds of*] his body, and perceiving that within a very little while he must of necessity bid the World farewell, and leave all these things behind him, he wholly applied himself, as to righteousness in all his actions, so to the common Nature in all things that should happen unto him. And contenting himself with these two things, to doe all things justly, and whatsoever God doth send to like well of it; what others shall either say or think of him, or shall doe against him, he doth not so much as trouble his thoughts with it. To go on streight, whether right reason directed him, and in so doing to follow God, was the onely thing that he did mind, that, his onely business and occupation.

XIII. What use is there of suspicion at all? [or, *why should thoughts, of mistrust and suspicion concerning that which is future, trouble thy mind at all?*] What now is to be done, if thou mayst search and enquire into that, what needest thou care for more? And if thou art well

able to perceive it alone, let no man divert thee from it. But if alone thou dost not so well perceive it, suspend thine action, and take advice from the best. And if there be any thing else that doth hinder thee, go on with prudence and discretion, according to the present occasion and opportunity, still proposing that unto thy self which thou dost conceive most right and just. For to hit that aright, and to speed in the prosecution of it, must needs be happines, since it is that onely which we can *[truly and properly be said to]* miss of, *[or, miscarry in.]*

XIV. What is that that is slow, and yet quick? merry, and yet grave? He that in all things doth follow Reason for his guide.

XV. In the morning as soon as thou art awakned, *[when thy judgment before either thy affections or external objects have thought upon it, is yet most free and impartial:]* put this question to thy self, whether if that which is right and just be done, the doing of it by thy self, or by others *[when thou art not able thy self,]* be a thing material or no. For sure it is not. And as for these that keep such a life, and stand so much upon the praises or dispraises of other men; hast thou forgotten what manner of men they be? that such and such upon their beds, and such at their board: what their ordinary actions are; what they pursue after, and what they fly from; what thefts and rapines they commit, if not with their hands and feet, yet with that more pretious part of theirs, their minds; which (would it but admit of them)

might

might enjoy faith, modesty, truth, justice, a good spirit.

XVI. Give what thou wilt, and take away what thou wilt, saith he that is well taught and truly modest, to him that gives, and takes away. And it is not out of a stout and peremptory resolution, that he saith it, but in mere love, and humble submission.

XVII. Thy life is almost at an end: so live henceforth, [*as indifferent to the world, and all worldly objects*] as one who liveth by himself alone upon some desert hill. For whether here or there, if the whole world be but as one Town, it matters not much for the place. Let them behold, and see a Man, that is a Man indeed, living according to the true nature of man. If they cannot bear with me, let them kill me. For better were it to dye, than so to live [*as they would have me.*]

XVIII. Make it not any longer a matter of dispute or discourse, what are the signs and proprieties of a good man; but really and actually be such a one.

XIX. Ever to represent unto thy self, and to set before thee, both the general Age and time of the World, and the whole Substance of it. And how all things particular in respect of these are for their substance, as one of the least seeds that is, [*Or as the seed that is in a Fig:*] and for their duration, as the turning of the Pestle in the Mortar once about. Then to fix thy mind upon every particular object of the World, and to conceive it, (as it is indeed,) as already being in the state of dissolution, and of change;
tending

tending to some kind of either putrefaction or disperſion, or whatſoever elſe it is that is the death as it were of every thing in his own kind.

XX. Conſider them through all actions and occupations of their lives: as when they eat, and when they ſleep; when they are in the act of neceſſary exoneration, and when in the act of luſt. Again, when they either are in their greateſt exultation, and in the middle of all their pomp and glory; or being angry and diſpleaſed, in great ſtate and majeſty, as from an higher place, they chide and rebuke. How baſe and ſlaviſh, but a little while ago, they were ſain to be, that they might come to this; and within a very little while what will be their eſtate, [*when death hath once ſeized upon them.*]

XXI. That is beſt for every one, that the common Nature of all doth ſend unto every one; and then is it beſt, when ſhe doth ſend it.

XXII. *The Earth* [*ſaith the Poet*] doth often long after the rain. So is the glorious Sky often as deſirous to fall upon the Earth: which argues a mutual kind of love between them. And ſo [*ſay I*] doth the world bear a certain affection of love to whatſoever ſhall come to paſs. With thine affections ſhall mine concur, O World. The ſame (and no other,) ſhall the object of my longing be, which is of thine. Now that the world doth love, as it is true indeed, ſo it is as commonly ſaid and acknowledged, when [*according to the Greek phraſe, imitated by the Latins, of things that*

to be,] we say commonly, that they *love to be.*

XXIII. Either thou dost continue in this kind of life, and that is it which so long thou hast been used unto [*and therefore tolerable:*] or thou dost retire [*or, leave the World,*] and that of thine own accord, [*and then thou hast thy mind:*] or thy life is cut off, and then [*mayst thou re-joyce that*] thou hast ended thy charge. One of these must needs be. Be therefore of good comfort.

XXIV. Let it always appear, and be manifested unto thee, that solitariness and Desert places, [*by many Philosophers so much esteemed of and affected,*] are of themselves but thus and thus; and that all things are here [*to them that live in Towns, and converse with others,*] as they are [*the same nature every where to be seen and observed,*] to them that have retired themselves to the top of Mountains, and to desert Havens, or what other [*desert and inhabited*] places soever. For any where [*if thou wilt*] mayst thou quickly find and apply that to thy self, which Plato saith [*of his Philosopher,*] in a place; [*as private and retired*] saith he, [*as if he were*] shut up and inclosed about in some Shepherd's lodge, on the top of a hill. There by thy self to put these questions to thy self. [*or, to enter into these considerations:*] What is my chief and principal part, which hath power over the rest? What is now the present estate of it, as I use it; and what is it that I employ it about? Is it now void of reason or no? Is it free, and separated; or so affixed, so congealed and grown together,

See B. IV.
N. III.

ther, as it were, with the flesh, that it is swayed by the motions and inclinations of it?

XXV. He that runs away from his Master, is a fugitive. But the Law is every man's Master. He therefore that forsakes the Law, is a fugitive. So is he, whosoever he be, that is either sorry, angry, or afraid of, or for any thing that either hath been, is, or shall be by his appointment, who is the Lord and Governour of the Universe. For he truly and properly is Νόμος [or, the Law] as the onely νόμος [or, distributor and dispenser] of all things that happen unto any one in his life-time. Whosoever then is either sorry, angry, or afraid, is a fugitive.

XXVI. From man is the seed. That once cast into the womb, man hath no more to doe with it. Another Cause succeedeth, and undertakes the Work, and in time brings a Child (that wonderfull effect from such a beginning) to perfection. Again, Man lets food down through his throat; and that once down, he hath on more to doe with it. Another Cause succeedeth, and distributeth this food into the Senses, and the affections; into life, and into strength; and doth with it those other many and marvellous things that belong unto man. These things therefore that are so secretly and invisibly wrought and brought to pass, thou must use to behold and contemplate; and not the things themselves onely, but the power also by which they are effected; that thou mayst behold it, though not with the eyes of the body, yet as plainly and visibly as thou canst see and discern the [outward] effici-

at cause of the depression and elevation of any thing.

XXVII. Ever to mind and consider with thy self, how all things that now are, have been heretofore much after the same sort, and after the same fashion that now they are: and so to think of those things which shall be hereafter also. Moreover, whole *dramata*, and uniform scenes, [or, *scenes that comprehend the lives and actions of men of one calling and profession,*] as many as either in thine own experience thou hast known, or by reading of ancient Histories; (as the whole Court of *Adrianns*, the whole Court of *Antoninus Pius*, the whole Court of *Philippus*, that of *Alexander*, that of *Cræsus*;) to set them all before thine eyes. For thou shalt find that they are all but after one sort and fashion: [or, *all of the same kind and nature:*] onely that the actours were others.

XXVIII. As a Pig that flings and cries when his throat is cut, fantasie to thy self every one to be, that grieves [for any worldly thing] and takes on. Such a one is he also, who upon his bed alone doth bewail the miseries of this our mortal life. And remember this, that unto reasonable creatures onely it is granted that they may willingly and freely submit unto Providence: but absolutely to submit, is a necessity imposed upon all creatures equally.

XXIX. Whatsoever it is that thou goest about, consider of it by thy self, and ask thy self, What? because I shall doe this no more when I am dead, should therefore death seem grievous unto me?

XXX.

See B. VII.
N. XIX.

XXX. When thou art offended with any mans transgression, presently reflect upon thy self, and consider what thou thy self art guilty of in the same kind. As that thou also perchance dost think it a happiness either to be rich, or to live in pleasure, or to be praised and commended, and so of the rest in particular. For this if thou shalt call to mind, thou shalt soon forget thine anger: especially when at the same time this also shall concur in thy thoughts, that he was constrained [*by his error and ignorance*] so to doe: For how can he chuse [*as long as he is of that opinion?*] Do thou therefore, if thou canst, take away that from him what forceth him to doe as he doth.

XXXI. When thou seest *Satyro*, think of *Socraticus* and *Eutyches*, or *Hymen*; and when *Euphrates*, think of *Eutychio* and *Sylvanus*; when *Alciphron*, of *Tropaophorus*; when *Xenophon*, of *Crito*, or *Severus*. And when thou dost look upon thy self, fanſie unto thy self some one or other of the *Cæsars*; and so for every one; some one or other that hath been for estate and profession answerable unto him. Then let this come to thy mind at the same time; And where now are they all? No where, or any where? For so shalt thou at all times be able to perceive how all worldly things are but as the smoke, [*that vanisheth away*:] or, indeed, mere nothing. Especially when thou shalt call to mind this also, that whatsoever is once changed, shall never be again as long as the world endureth. And thou then, how long shalt thou endure. And why doth

Is it not suffice thee, if vertuously, and as be-
neath thee, thou mayst pass that portion of
time, how little soever it be, that is allotted
unto thee?

XXXII. What a subject, and what a course
of life is it, that thou dost so much desire to
be rid of? For all these things what are they,
but fit objects for an understanding, that be-
holdeth every thing accurately and according to
its true nature, to exercise it self upon? Be pa-
tient therefore, untill that (as a strong stomach
that turns all things into its own nature; and as
a great fire that turneth into flame and light
whatsoever thou dost cast into it;) thou have
made these things also familiar, and as it were
natural unto thee.

XXXIII. Let it not be in any man's power to
say truly of thee, that thou art not truly simple,
[i. e. sincere and open,] or not good. Let him be
received whatsoever he be that shall have any
such opinion of thee. For all this doth depend
on thee. For who is it that should hinder thee
from being either truly simple or good? Do thou
truly resolve rather not to live, than not to be
such. For indeed neither doth it stand with rea-
son that he should live that is not such.

XXXIV. [*Wouldst thou now be happy?*] Doe
that and speak that, whatsoever it be, that may
now upon this present occasion according to
best reason and discretion either be said or
done: (for whatsoever it be, it is in thy power
either to doe it or to say it, and therefore seek
not any pretences as though thou wert hin-
dered;) and thou hast thy wish. For untill such
time

time that thou be so minded and affected, that, what pleasure is unto the voluptuous, be unto thee, to doe in every thing that presents it self whatsoever may be done conformably and agreeably to the proper constitution of man, [or, to man as he is a man:] thou wilt never cease groaning and complaining. For thou must account that pleasure, whatsoever it be, that thou mayst doe according to thine own Nature. And to doe this, every place will fit thee. Unto the *Cylindrus* [or, roller] it is not granted to move every where according to its own proper motion; as neither unto the water, nor unto the fire, nor unto any other thing, that either is merely natural, or natural and sensitive, but not rational. For many things there be that can hinder their operations. But of the mind and understanding this is the proper privilege, that according to its own nature, and as it will it self, it can pass through every obstacle that it finds, and keep straight on forwards. Setting therefore before thine eyes this happiness and felicity of the mind, whereby it is able to pass through all things, [and is capable of all motions, whether, as the fire, upwards, or as the stone, downwards, or as the *Cylindrus*, through that which is sloping; content thy self with it, and] seek not after any other thing. For all other kind of hindrances [that are not hindrances of the mind] either they are proper to the body, or merely proceed from the opinion. Reason not making that resistance that it should, but basely and cowardly suffering it self to be foiled

and of themselves can neither wound, nor doe any hurt at all. Else must he of necessity, who-soever he be that meets with any of them, become worse than he was before. For so is it in all other subjects, that that is thought hurtfull unto them whereby they are made worse. But here contrariwise, man (if he make that good use of them that he should) is rather the better and the more praise-worthy for any of those kind of hindrances, than otherwise. But generally remember that nothing can hurt a natural Citizen, that is not hurtfull unto the City it self; nor any thing hurt the City, that is not hurtfull unto the Law it self. But none of these casualties or external hindrances do hurt the Law it self; [that is, the providence of Almighty God, who doth over-rule all things in the world; and of his infinite wisdom dispenseth all particular events to the general good and preservation of the Universe:] neither therefore do they hurt either City or Citizen.

XXXV. [As he that is bitten by a mad Dog, is afraid of every thing almost that he seeth: so] unto him whom the Dogmata have once bitten [or, in whom true knowledge hath made an impression] every thing almost [that he sees or reads,] be it never so short or ordinary, doth afford a good memento, to put him out of all grief and fear; as that of the Poet, *The winds blow upon the trees, and their leaves fall upon the ground. Then do the trees begin to bud again; and by the spring-time they put forth new branches. So is the generation of men; some come into the world, and others go out of it.* Of these leaves

P

then

See B. VI.
N. LII.

then thy Children are. And they also that applaud thee so gravely, [*or, that applaud thy speeches with that their usual acclamation, αἰνῶν, swe, O truly spoken!*] and speak well of thee, as on the other side, they that stick not to curse thee, they that privately and secretly dispraise and deride thee, they also are but leaves. And they also that shall follow, in whose memories the names of men famous after death is preserved, they are but leaves neither. For even so is it of all these [*worldly*] things. Their Spring comes, and they are put forth. Then blows the wind, and they go down. And then in lieu of them grow others out of the wood [*or, common matter of all things,*] like unto them. But, to endure but for a while, is common unto all; Why then shouldst thou so [*earnestly*] either seek after these things, or fly from them, as though they should endure for ever? Yet a little while,

* Gr. ὅ
καταμύσσει.

* and thine eyes will be closed up, and for him that carries thee to thy grave shall another mourn within a while after.

XXXVI. A good eye must be good to see whatsoever is to be seen, and not green things onely. For that is proper to sore eyes. So must a good ear and a good smell be ready for whatsoever is either to be heard or smelt: and a good stomach as indifferent to all kinds of food, as a millstone is to whatsoever it was made for to grind. As ready therefore must a sound understanding be for whatsoever shall happen. But he that saith, *O that my Children might live!* and, *O that all men might commend me for whatsoever I doe!* is as an eye that seeks
after

after green things; or as teeth after that which is tender.

XXXVII. There is not any man that is so happy in his death, but that some of those that are by him when he dyes, will be ready to rejoyce at his [*supposed*] calamity. Is it one that was vertuous and wise indeed? Will there not some one or other be found, who thus will say to himself, *Well, now at last shall I be at rest from this Pedagogue. He did not indeed otherwise trouble us much: but I know well enough that in his heart he did much condemn us.* Thus will they speak of the vertuous. But as for us, alas! how many things be there, for which there be many that would be glad to be rid of us? This therefore if thou shalt think of whensoever thou dyest, thou shalt dye the more willingly; when thou shalt think with thy self, I am now to depart from that World, wherein those that have been my nearest friends and acquaintance, they whom I have so much suffered for, so often prayed for, and for whom I have taken such care; even they would have me dye, hoping that after my death they may perhaps live happier than they did before. What then should any man desire to continue here any longer?

Nevertheless, whensoever thou dyest, thou must not be less kind and loving unto them for it; but as before, so then, continue to be their friend; to wish them well, and meekly and gently to carry thy self towards them; but yet so, that on the other side; it make thee not the more unwilling to dye. But as it fareth with them that dye an easie quick death, whose soul

*See notes.

is soon separated from their bodies, so must thy separation from them be. To these had nature joyned and annexed me: now she parts us; I am ready to depart, as from friends and kinsmen, but yet without either reluctancy or compulsion. For this also is according to Nature.

XXXVIII. Use thy self, as often as thou seest any man doe any thing, presently (if it be possible) to say unto thy self, What is this man's end in this his action? But begin this course with thy self first of all, and diligently examine thy self [*concerning whatsoever thou doest.*]

XXXIX. Remember, that that which sets a man at work, and hath power over the affections to draw them either one way, or the other way, is [*not an external thing properly, but*] that which is hidden within [*every man's Dogmata and opinions:*] That, that is Rhetorick, that is life; that (to speak true) is man himself. As for [*thy body,*] which as a vessel [*or, a case,*] compasseth thee about, and the many and curious instruments that it hath annexed unto it, let them not trouble thy thoughts. For of themselves they are but as a Carpenter's Axe, but that they are born with us, and naturally sticking unto us. But otherwise, without the inward cause that hath power to move them, and to restrain them, those parts are of themselves of no more use unto us, than the Shuttle is of it self to the Weav'ster, or the Pen to the Writer, or the Whip to the Coach-man.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE natural properties and privileges of a reasonable soul are; That she seeth her self that she can order and compose her self; that she makes her self as she will her self; that she reaps her own fruits whatsoever; whereas Plants, Trees, unreasonable creatures, what fruit soever they bear, (be it either fruit properly, or analogically onely) they bear it unto others, and not to themselves. Again, Whensoever and wheresoever [*sooner, or later*] her life doth end, she hath her own end nevertheless. For it is not with her, as with Dancers and Players, who if they be interrupted in any part of their action, the whole action must needs be imperfect: but she, in what part of time or action soever she be surprized, can make that which she hath in her hand, whatsoever it be, complete and full, so that she may depart with that comfort, *I have lived; neither want I any thing of that which properly did belong unto me.* Again, she compasseth the whole World, and penetrateth into the Vanity and mere outside (wanting substance and solidity) of it, and stretcheth her self unto the infiniteness of eternity; and the revolution [*or, restauration*] of all things after a certain period of time, to the same state and place as before, she fetcheth about, and doth comprehend in her self; and considers withall, and sees clearly this, that

neither they that shall follow us shall see any new thing that we have not seen, nor they that went before any thing more than we: but that he that is once come to forty (if they have any wit at all) can in a manner (for that they are all of one kind) see all things, both passed and future. As proper is it and natural to the soul of man to love her neighbours, to be true and modest, and to regard nothing so much as her self: which is also the property of the Law: whereby [*by the way*] it appears, that sound reason and justice comes all to one, [*and therefore that justice is the chief thing that reasonable creatures ought to propose unto themselves as their end.*]

See B. XII.
N. VI.

II. A pleasant song or dance, the *Pancratiastes* exercise, [*sports that thou art wont to be much taken with,*] thou shalt easily contemn, if thou shalt divide the harmonious voice into so many particular sounds whereof it doth consist, and of every one in particular shalt ask thy self, whether this or that sound is it that doth so take [*or, conquer*] thee. For thou wilt be ashamed of it. And so for dance, if accordingly thou shalt consider it in every particular motion and posture by it self: and so for the wrestler's exercise too. Generally then, whatsoever it be, besides vertue, and those things that proceed from vertue, [*that thou art subject to be much affected with*] remember presently thus to divide it, and by this kind of division in each particular, to attain unto the contempt of the whole. Thus thou must transfer and apply to thy whole life also.

III. That

III. That soul which is ever ready, even now presently (if need be) to be separated from the body, whether by way of Extinction, or Dispersion, or Continuation [*in another place and estate,*] how blessed and happy is it? But this readiness of it, it must proceed, not from an obstinate and peremptory resolution of the mind, violently and passionately set upon opposition, (as Christians are wont;) but from a peculiar judgment, with discretion and gravity, so that others may be persuaded also and drawn to the like example, but without any noise and passionate exclamations.

IV. Have I done any thing charitably; then am I benefited by it. See that this upon all occasions may present it self unto thy mind, and never cease to think of it. What is thy profession? to be good. And how should this be well brought to pass, but by certain Theorems and Doctrines; some concerning the Nature of the Universe, and some concerning the proper and particular constitution of man [*or, by the true and Theorematical knowledge both of the nature of the Universe, &c.*]

V. Tragedies were at first brought in and instituted, to put men in mind of worldly chances and casualties: That these things in the ordinary course of nature did so happen; That men that were much pleased and delighted by such accidents upon this stage, might not by the same things upon a greater stage be grieved and afflicted: For here you see what is the end of all such things; and that even they that cry out so mournfully *Io Citharon*, must bear them

Gr. ἡτοι-
μασθὲν πα-
ράταξις.
See the
Notes.

[for all their cries and exclamations,] as well as others. And in very truth many good things are spoken by these Poets, as that (for example) is an excellent passage: *But if so be that I and my two children be neglected by the Gods, they have some reason even for that, &c.* And again, *It will but little avail thee to storm and rage against the things themselves, &c.* Again, *To reap ones life, as a ripe ear of corn; and whatsoever else is to be found in them that is of the same kind.* After the Tragedy, the *Comœdia vetus*, or ancient Comedy was brought in, which had the * liberty to inveigh against personal vices; being therefore through this her freedom and liberty of speech of very good use and effect, to restrain men from pride and arrogance. To which end it was, that *Diogenes* took also the same liberty. After these, what were either the *Media*, or *Nova Comœdia* admitted for, but merely (or for the most part at least) for the delight and pleasure of curious and excellent imitation? * *It will steal away; look to it, &c.* Why, no man denies but that these also have some good things, [whereof that may be one:] But the whole drift and foundation of that kind of *Dramatical Poetry*, what is it else but as we have said?

VI. How clearly doth it appear unto thee, that no other course of life could fit a true Philosopher's practice better than this very course that thou art now already in?

VII. A branch cut off from the continuity of another branch, must needs be cut off from the whole tree: so a man that is divided from another man,

* παῖδες
γωγικὴν
παρρησίαν
ἐχουσιν.

* Gr. ὁ πῖ-
πῦρ· ὁ πῖ-
σιν.

man, is divided from the whole Society. A branch is cut off by another; but he that hates and is averse, cuts himself off from his neighbour, and knows not that at the same time he divides himself from the whole body, [or, corporation.] But herein is the gift and mercy of God, the Author of this society, in that, [once cut off] we may grow together and become part of the Whole again. But if this happen often, [the misery is that] the farther a man is run in this division, the harder he is to be re-united and restored again: and however, the branch which, once cut off, afterwards was grafted in, Gardeners can tell you is not like that which sprouted together at first, and still continued in the unity of the body.

VIII. * *To grow together like fellow-branches* [in * Gr. ἰσο-
matter of good correspondence and affection;] but *ἰσομετρίαν*
not in matter of opinions. They that shall op- *μὴν, καὶ ἰ-*
pose thee in thy right courses, as it is not in their *σοσύμω-*
power to divert thee from thy good action, so *τήν δὲ*
neither let it be to divert thee from thy good af-
fection towards them. But be it thy care to
keep thy self constant in both; both in a right
judgment and action, and in true meekness to-
wards them, that either shall doe their endea-
vour to hinder thee, or at least will be dis-
pleased with thee [for what thou hast done.] For
to fail in either (either in the one to give over
for fear, or in the other to forsake thy natural
affection towards him who by nature is both thy
friend and thy kinsman,) is equally base, and
much favouring of the disposition of a coward-
ly fugitive soldier.

IX. It is not possible that any nature should be inferiour unto art, since that all arts imitate nature. If this be so; that the most perfect and general nature of all natures should [*in her operation*] come short of the skill of arts, is most improbable. Now common it is to all arts, to make that which is worse for the better's sake. Much more then doth the common Nature do the same. Hence is the first ground of Justice. From Justice all other Vertues have their existence. For Justice cannot be preserved, if either we settle our minds and affections upon worldly things; or be apt to be deceived, or rash and inconstant.

X. The things themselves (which either to get or to avoid thou art put to so much trouble,) come not unto thee themselves; but thou in a manner goest unto them. Let then thine own judgment and opinion concerning those things be at rest; and as for the things themselves, they stand still and quiet, without any noise or stir at all: and so shall all pursuing and flying cease.

XI. Then is the Soul [*as Empedocles doth liken it,*] like unto a Sphere, or Globe, when she is all of one form and figure: When she neither [*greedily*] stretcheth out her self, unto any thing, nor [*basely*] contracts her self, or lies flat and dejected; but shineth all with light, whereby she doth see and behold the true nature, both that of the Universe, and her own in particular.

XII. Will any contemn me? let him look to that, [*upon what grounds he doth it:*] my care shall

shall be, that I may never be found either doing or speaking any thing that doth truly deserve contempt. Will any hate me, let him look to that. I for my part will be kind and loving unto all, and even unto him that hates me [whosoever he be] will I be ready to shew his error, not by way of exprobration, or ostentation of my patience, but ingenuously and meekly: such as was that famous *Phocion*, if so be that he did not dissemble. For it is inwardly that these things must be: that the gods [*who look inwardly, and not upon the outward appearance,*] may behold a man truly free from all indignation and grief. For what hurt can it be unto thee [*whatsoever any man else doth,*] as long as thou mayst do that which is proper and suitable to thine own nature? Wilt not thou (a man wholly appointed to be both *what*, and *as* the common good shall require,) accept of that which is now seasonable to the nature of the Universe?

XIII. They condemn one another, and yet they seek to please one another: and whilst they seek to surpass one another [*in worldly pomp and greatness,*] they most debase and prostitute themselves [*in their better part*] one to another.

XIV. How rotten and unsincere is he that saith, I am resolved to carry my self hereafter towards you with all ingenuity and simplicity! O man, what dost thou mean? what needs this profession of thine? the thing it self will shew it. It ought to be written upon thy forehead. No sooner is thy voice heard, than thy countenance must

must be able to shew what is in thy mind: even as he that is loved knows presently by the looks of his sweet-heart what is in her mind. Such must he be for all the world that is truly simple and good, as he whose arm-holes are offensive, that whosoever stands by, as soon as ever he comes near him, may as it were smell him whether he will or no. But the affectation of simplicity is in no wise laudable. There is nothing more shamefull than perfidious friendship. Above all things, that must be avoided. [*However*] true goodness, simplicity and kindness cannot so be hidden, but that [*as we have already said*] in the very eyes and countenance they will shew themselves.

XV. To live happily is an inward power of the Soul, when she is affected with indifferency [*or, indifferently affected*] towards those things that are by their nature indifferent. To be thus affected, she must consider all worldly objects both divided and whole: remembring withall that no object can of it self beget any opinion in us, neither can come to us, but stands without still and quiet; but that we our selves beget, and as it were print in our selves opinions concerning them. Now it is in our power, not to print them; and [*if they creep in*] and lurk in some corner, it is in our power to wipe them off. Remembring moreover that this care and circumspection of thine is to continue but for a-while, and then thy life will be at an end. And what should hinder, but that thou mayst doe well with all these things? For if they be according to nature, rejoyce in them, and let them be pleasing and acceptable unto thee.

thee. But if they be against Nature, seek thou that which is according to thine own Nature, and whether it be for thy credit or no, use all possible speed [*for the attainment of it:*] for no man ought to be blamed, for seeking his own good and happiness.

XVI. Of every thing [*thou must consider*] from whence it came, of what things it doth consist, and into what it will be changed: what will be the nature of it [*or, what it will be like unto*] when it is changed, and that it can suffer no hurt by this change. [*And as for other mens either foolishness, or wickedness, that it may not trouble or grieve thee;*] First, generally thus; What reference have I unto these? and that we are all born for one another's good. Then [*more particularly*] after another consideration; as a Ram is first in a flock of Sheep, and a Bull in a herd of Cattel, so am I born to rule over them. Begin yet higher, even from this: If *Atoms* be not the beginning of all things, [*than which to believe nothing can be more absurd,*] then must we needs grant that there is a Nature that doth govern the Universe. If such a Nature, then are all worse things made for the better's sake; and all better for one another's sake. Secondly, What manner of men they be, at board and upon their beds, and so forth. But, above all things, how they are forced by their opinions that they hold, to doe what they doe; and even those things that they doe, with that pride and self-conceit they doe them. Thirdly, that if they doe these things rightly, thou hast no reason to be grieved. But if not rightly, it must needs

needs be that they doe them against their wills, and through mere ignorance. For as [*according to Plato's opinion*] no soul doth willingly err, so by consequent neither doeth it any thing otherwise than it ought, but against her will. Therefore are they grieved whensoever they hear themselves charged either of injustice, or unconscionableness, [*or, unthankfulness,*] or covetousness, or, in general of any injurious kind of dealing towards their neighbours.

4. *Fourthly*, That thou thy self dost transgress in many things, and art even such another as they are. And though perchance thou dost forbear the very act of some sins, yet hast thou in thy self an habitual disposition to them, but that either through fear, or vain-glory, or some such other sinister respect, thou art restrained.

5. *Fifthly*, That whether they have sinned or no, thou dost not understand perfectly. For many

* Gr. γὰρ
οὐκ ὁνομαζ.

- things are done * *by way of discreet policy*; and generally a man must know many things first, before he be able truly and judiciously to judge of another man's action.

6. *Sixthly*, That whensoever thou dost take on grievously, or makest great woe, [*little dost thou remember then*] that a man's life is but for a moment of time, and that within a-while we shall all be in our graves.

7. *Seventhly*, That it is not the sins and transgressions themselves that trouble us properly; for they have their existence in their minds and understandings onely, [*that commit them:*] but our own opinions concerning those sins. Remove then, and be content to part with that conceit of thine, that it is a grievous thing, and

thou

thou hast removed thine anger. But how should I remove it? [*How?*] Reasoning with thy self that it is not shamefull. For if that which is shamefull be not the onely true evil that is, thou also wilt be driven [*whilst thou dost follow the common instinct of Nature, to avoid that which is evil,*] to commit many unjust things, and to become a thief, and any thing, [*that will make to the attainment of thy intended worldly ends.*] Eighthly, How many things may and do oftentimes follow upon such fits of anger and grief; far more grievous in themselves than those very things which we are so grieved or angry for. Ninthly, That meekness is a thing unconquerable, if it be true and natural, and not affected, or hypocritical. For how shall even the most fierce and malicious that thou shalt conceive, be able to hold on against thee, if thou shalt still continue meek and loving unto him; and that even at that time when he is about to doe thee wrong, thou shalt be well disposed and in good temper, with all meekness to teach him, and to instruct him better? [*As for example;*] *My son, we were not born for this, to hurt and annoy one another: It will be thy hurt, not mine, my son:* and so to shew him forcibly and fully, that it is so in very deed; and that neither Bees doe it one to another, nor any other creatures that are naturally sociable. But this thou must doe not scoffingly, nor by way of exprobration, but tenderly without any harshness of words. Neither must thou doe it by way of exercise or ostentation, that they that are by and hear thee, may admire thee:

See B. VI.
n. XV.

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thee: but so always that no body be privy to it, but himself alone; yea, though there be more present at the same time. These nine particular heads, as so many gifts from the Muses, see that thou remember well: and begin one day, whilst thou art yet alive, to be a man indeed. But on the other side thou must take heed as much to flatter them as to be angry with them: for both are equally uncharitable, and equally hurtfull. And in thy passions, take it presently to thy consideration, that to be angry, is not the part of a man; but that to be meek and gentle, as it favours of more humanity, so of more manhood. That in this there is strength and nerves [or, *vigour*] and fortitude; whereof anger and indignation is altogether void. For the nearer every thing is unto *unpassionateness*, the nearer it is unto power. And as grief doth proceed from weakness, so doth anger. For both [both he that is angry and that grieveth] have received a wound, and cowardly have as it were yielded themselves [unto their affections.] If thou wilt have a Tenth also, receive this Tenth gift from [*Hercules*] the Guide and Leader of the Muses: That it is a mad man's part, to look that there should be no wicked men in the World, because it is impossible. Now for a man to brook well enough, that there should be wicked men in the World, but not to endure that any should transgress against himself; is against all equity, and indeed tyrannical.

XVII. Four several dispositions, [or, *inclinations*] there be of the mind and understanding, which

which to be aware of thou must carefully observe: and whensoever thou dost discover them, thou must rectifie them, saying to thy self concerning every one of them, *This* imagination is not necessary; *This* is uncharitable: *This* thou shalt speak as another man's slave, or instrument; than which nothing can be more senseless and absurd: For the *Fourth*, thou shalt sharply check and upbraid thy self, for that thou dost suffer that more divine part in thee to become subject and obnoxious to that more ignoble part of thy body, and the gross lusts and concupiscences thereof.

i.

2. 3.

4.

XVIII. What portion soever, either of air or fire, there be in thee, although by nature it tend upwards, submitting nevertheless to the ordinance of the Universe, it abides here below in this mixt body. So whatsoever is in thee, either earthy or humid, although by nature it tend downwards, yet is it against its nature both raised upwards, and standing [or, *consistent*.] So obedient are even the Elements themselves to the Universe, abiding patiently wheresoever (though against their Nature) they are placed, untill the sound as it were of their retreat and separation. Is it not a grievous thing then, that thy reasonable part onely should be disobedient, and should not endure to keep its place: yea, though nothing be enjoined it contrary unto it, but that onely which is according to its Nature? For [we cannot say of it when it is disobedient, as we say of the fire, or air,] that it tends upwards towards its proper Element, for then goes it the quite contrary way.

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See B.XII.
n. I.

way, [or, For we cannot say of it, as of the Elements, that it suffers against its own nature to be obedient: but rather when disobedient, then goes it a quite contrary course to that which is natural unto it.] For the motion of the mind to any injustice, or incontinency, or to sorrow, or to fear, is nothing else but a separation from nature. Also when the mind is grieved for any thing that is happened [by the divine Providence] then doth it likewise forsake its own place. For it was ordained unto holiness and godliness, [which specially consists in an humble submission to God and his Providence in all things:] as well as unto Justice: these also being part of those duties, which as naturally sociable we are bound unto; and without which we cannot happily converse one with another [or, without which, common societies cannot prosper:] yea and the very ground and fountain indeed of all just actions.

XIX. He that hath not one and the self-same general end always as long as he liveth, cannot possibly be one and the self-same man always. But this will not suffice, except thou add also what ought to be this general end. For as the general conceit and apprehension of all those things which upon no certain ground are by the greater part of men deemed good, cannot be uniform and agreeable, but that onely which is limited and restrained by some certain proprieties and conditions, as of community: [that nothing be conceived good, which is not commonly and publickly good:] so must the end also that we propose unto our selves be common and sociable.

able. For he that doth direct all his own private motions and purposes to that end, all his actions will be agreeable and uniform; and by that means he will be still the same man.

XX. Remember the fable of the countrey mouse and the city mouse, and the great fright and terrour that this was put into.

XXI. *Socrates* was wont to call the common conceits and opinions of men, the common *Lania*, or bugbears, of the world: the proper terrour of silly children.

XXII. The *Lacedaemonians*, at their publick *pectacula*, were wont to appoint seats and forms for their strangers in the shadow; they themselves were content to sit any where.

XXIII. What *Socrates* answered unto *Perdicus*, why he did not come unto him, *Lest of all deaths I should dye the worst kind of death*, said he: that is, not be able to requite the good that hath been done unto me.

XXIV. In the ancient mystical letters of the *Ephesians*, [commonly called *Ephesia litera*] there was an *Item*, that a man should always have in his mind some one or other of the Ancient Worthies.

XXV. The *Pythagoreans* were wont betimes in the morning, the first thing they did, to look up unto the heavens, to put themselves in mind of them who constantly and unvariably did perform their task: as also to put themselves in mind of orderliness [or, good order] and of purity, and of naked simplicity. For no star or planet hath any cover before it.

XXVI. How *Socrates* looked, when he was

fain to gird himself with a skin, Xantippe his wife having taken away his clothes, and carried them abroad with her; and what he said to his fellows and friends, who were ashamed, and out of respect to him, did retire themselves when they saw him thus decked.

XXVII. In matter of writing or reading thou must needs be taught before thou canst doe either: much more in matter of life. For thou art born a mere slave, [to thy senses and brutish affections;] destitute [without teaching] of all true knowledge and sound reason.

XXVIII. My heart smiled within me. They will accuse even Vertue her self, with most hainous and opprobrious words.

XXIX. As they that long after [green] figs in winter, [when they cannot be had;] so are they that long after children, before they be granted them.

XXX. As often as a Father kisseth his Child, he should say secretly with himself (said Epictetus,) To morrow perchance shall he dye. But these words be ominous. No words ominous (said he) that signifie any thing that is natural: In very truth and deed not more ominous than this, To cut down grapes when they are ripe. Green grapes, ripe grapes, dried grapes [or, raisins:] so many changes and mutations of one thing, not into that which was not absolutely [or, into so many severall substances,] but rather so many successions of time in one and the self-same subject and substance, [or, so many severall changes and mutations, not into that which

bath

hath no being at all, but into that which is not yet in being.]

XXXI. Of the free will there is no thief or robber: out of *Epietetus*; Whose is this also: That we should find a certain art and method of assenting; and that we should always observe with great care and heed the inclinations of our minds, that they may always be with their due restraint and reservation, always charitable, and according to the true worth of every present object. And as for earnest longing, that we should altogether avoid it: and to use averfeness in those things onely that wholly depend of our own wills. It is not about ordinary petty matters, believe it, that all our strife and contention is, but whether [with the vulgar] we should be mad, or [by the help of Philosophy] wise and sober, said he.

XXXII. *Socrates* said, What will ye have? the souls of reasonable, or unreasonable creatures? Of reasonable. But what? Of those whose reason is sound and perfect? or of those whose reason is vitiated and corrupted? Of those whose reason is sound and perfect. Why then labour ye not for such? Because we have them already. What then do ye so strive and contend between you?

THE TWELFTH BOOK.

WHatsoever thou dost hereafter aspire unto, thou mayst even now enjoy and possess, if thou dost not envy thy self thine own happiness. And that will be, if thou shalt forget all that is past, and for the future refer thy self wholly to the divine providence, and shalt bend and apply all thy present thoughts and intentions to holiness and righteousness. To holiness, in accepting willingly whatsoever is sent by the divine Providence, as being that which the nature of the Universe hath appointed unto thee, which also hath appointed thee for that, whatsoever it be. To righteousness, in speaking the Truth freely, and without ambiguity; and in doing all things justly and discreetly. Now in this good course, let not other mens either wickedness, or opinion, or voice hinder thee: no, nor the sense of this mass of flesh that compasseth thee: for let that which suffers look to it self. If therefore whensoever the time of thy departing shall come, thou shalt readily leave all things, and shalt respect thy mind onely, and that divine part of thine, and this shall be thine onely fear, not that some time or other thou shalt cease to live, but that thou shalt never begin to live according to Nature: then shalt thou be a man indeed, worthy of that world from which thou hadst thy beginning; then shalt thou cease to be a stranger.

See Notes
upon B.
VII. num.
XXXIX.

ger in thy Countrey, and to wonder at those things that happen daily, as things strange and unexpected, and anxiously to depend on divers things [*that are not in thy power.*]

II. God beholds our minds and understandings bare and naked from these material vessels, and outsides, and all earthly drops. For with his simple and pure understanding he pierceth into our inmost and purest parts, which from His, as it were by a water-pipe and chanel, first flowed and issued. This if thou also shalt use to doe, [*to look upon thy self as consisting of a bare soul and understanding, all other parts being no parts of thee but improperly,*] thou shalt rid thy self of that manifold luggage wherewith thou art round about encumbered. For he that does not regard either his body, or his cloathing, or his dwelling, or any such external furniture, [*as either part of himself, or properly belonging unto him,*] must needs gain unto himself great rest and ease. Three things there be in all which thou dost consist of; thy body, thy life, and thy mind. Of these the two former are so far forth thine, as that thou art bound to take care for them. But the third alone is that which is properly thine. If then thou shalt separate from thy self (that is, from thy mind) whatsoever other men either doe or say, or whatsoever thou thy self hast heretofore either done or said; and all troublesome thoughts concerning the future, and whatsoever (as either belonging to thy body or life,) is without the jurisdiction of thine own will, and whatsoever in the ordinary course of humane chances

and accidents doth happen unto thee; so that thy mind (keeping her self loose and free from all outward co-incidental intanglements, always in a readiness to depart,) shall live by her self, and to her self, doing that which is just, accepting whatsoever doth happen, and speaking the truth always: If, I say, thou shalt separate from thy mind whatsoever by sympathy might adhere unto it, and all time both past and future, and shalt make thy self in all points and respects like unto *Empedocles* his [allegorical] Sphere, all round and circular, &c. and shalt think of no longer life than that which is now present: Then shalt thou be truly able to pass the remainder of thy days without troubles and distractions, nobly and generously disposed, and in good favour and correspondency with that Spirit which is within thee.

III. I have often wondered, how it should come to pass, that every man loving himself best, should more regard other mens opinions concerning himself than his own. For if any God or grave Master standing by, should command any of us to think nothing by himself, but what he should presently speak out; no man were able to endure it, though but for one day. Thus do we fear more what our neighbours will think of us, than what we our selves.

IV. How comes it to pass, that the gods having ordered all other things so well and so lovingly, should be overseen in this one onely thing, that whereas there have been some very good men, that have made many covenants as it were with God, and by many holy actions and outward

ward services contracted a kind of familiarity with Him; and these men when once they are dead, should never be ** restored to life*, but be extinct for ever? But this thou mayst be sure of, that this (if it be so indeed) would never have been so ordered by the gods, had it been fit otherwise. For certainly it was possible, had it been more just so; and had it been according to Nature, the Nature of the Universe would easily have born it. But now because it is not so, (if so be that it be not so indeed) be therefore confident that it was not fit it should be so. For thou seest thy self, that now seeking after this matter, how freely thou dost argue and contest with God. But were not the gods both just and good in the highest degree, thou durst not thus reason with them. Now if just and good, it could not be that in the creation of the world, they should either unjustly or unreasonably oversee any thing.

* Gr. αὐ-
τὸν γινώσκ.
See Suidas
in ἀναβι-
βλῶναι.
See n. IV.
upon B. II.

V. Use thy self even unto those things that thou dost at first despair of. For the left hand, we see, which for the most part lieth idle, because not used, yet doth it hold the bridle with more strength than the right, because it hath been used unto it.

VI. Let these be the objects of thy ordinary meditation: to consider what manner of men both for soul and body we ought to be, whensoever death shall surprise us: the shortness of this our mortal life; the immense vastness of the time that hath been before, and will be after us: the frailty of every worldly materi-

material object: All these things to consider, and behold clearly in themselves; all disguise-ment of external outside being removed and taken away. Again, to consider the efficient causes of all things: the proper ends and references of all actions: what pain is in it self, what pleasure, what death, what fame or honour: how every man is the true and proper ground of his own rest and tranquillity, and that no man can truly be hindred by any other: that all is but conceit and opinion. As for the use of the *Dogmata*, thou must carry thy self in the practice of them, rather like unto a *Pancratiastes*, [or, one that at the same time fights and wrestles, using both hands and feet, &c.] than a *Gladiator*. For this, if he lose his sword that he fights with, he is gone: whereas the other hath still his hand free, which he may easily turn and manage at his will.

VII. All worldly things thou must behold and consider, dividing them into matter, form and reference, [or, *their proper end*.]

VIII. How happy is man in this his power [that hath been granted unto him,] that he needs not doe any thing but what God shall approve, and that he may embrace contentedly whatsoever God doth send unto him?

* See
Notes.

IX. * Whatsoever doth happen in the ordinary course and consequence of natural events, neither must the gods, (for it is not possible that they either wittingly or unwittingly should doe any thing amiss;) nor men be accused; for it is through ignorance, and therefore against their wills, that they doe any

any thing amiss. None then must be accused.

X. How ridiculous and strange is he, that wonders at any thing that happens in this life in the ordinary course of nature!

XI. Either Fate, and that an absolute necessary, and unavoidable decree; or a placable and flexible Providence; or All is a mere casual Confusion, void of all order and government. If an absolute and unavoidable Necessity, why dost thou resist? If a placable and exorable Providence, make thy self worthy of the divine help and assistance. If all be a mere Confusion without any Moderatour or Governour, then hast thou reason to congratulate thy self, that in such a general flood of Confusion, thou thy self hast obtained a reasonable Faculty, whereby thou mayst govern thine own life and actions. But if thou beest carried away with the flood, it must be thy body perchance, or thy life, or some other thing that belongs unto them that is carried away: thy mind and understanding cannot. Or should it be so, that the light of a candle is indeed still bright and lightsome untill it be put out: and should Truth, and Righteousness, and Temperance cease to shine in thee whilst thou thy self hast any being?

XII. At the conceit and apprehension that such and such a one hath sinned, [*thus reason with thy self.*] What do I know whether this be a sin indeed, as it seems to be? But if it be, what do I know but that he himself hath already condemned himself for it? And that is all one as if a man should scratch and

and tears his own face, [*an object of compassion rather than of anger.*] Again, that he that would not have a vicious man to sin, is like unto him that would not have moisture in the fig, nor children to weep, nor a horse to neigh, nor any thing else that in the course of nature is necessary. For what shall he doe that hath such an habit? If thou therefore beest ** powerfull and eloquent*, remedy it if thou canst.

* Gr. α.
2426 α.

XIII. If it be not fitting, doe it not. If it be not true, speak it not. Ever maintain thine own purpose and resolution free from all compulsion and necessity; and always set the Universe before thine eyes.

XIV. Of every thing that presents it self unto thee, to consider what the true nature of it is, and to unfold it, as it were, by dividing it into that which is formal, that which is material, the true use or end of it, and the just time that it is appointed to last.

XV. It is high time for thee to understand that there is somewhat in thee better and more divine than either thy passions, or thy sensual appetites and affections. What is now the object of my mind? is it fear, or suspicion, or lust, or any such thing? To doe nothing rashly without some certain end; let that be thy first care. The next, to have no other end than the common good. For, alas! yet a little while, and thou art no more: no more will any, either of those things that now thou seest, or of those men that now are living, be any more. For all things are by nature appointed [*soon*] to be changed, turned and corrupted, that

that other things might succeed in their room.

XVI. [*Remember*] that all is but opinion, and all opinion depends of the mind. Take thine opinion away, and then as a Ship that hath stricken in within the arms and mouth of the harbour, *a present calm; all things safe and steady; a Bay not capable of any storms and tempests: [as the Poet hath it.]*

XVII. No operation whatsoever it be, ceasing for a while, can be truly said to suffer any evil, because it is at an end. Neither can he that is the Authour of that operation, for this very respect, because his operation is at an end, be said to suffer any evil. Likewise then, neither can the whole body of all our actions, (which is our life,) if in time it cease, be said to suffer any evil for this very reason, because it is at an end: nor He truly be said to have been affected, that did put a period to this series of actions. Now this time or certain period depends of the determination of Nature: sometimes of particular nature, as when a man dyeth old; but of nature in general, however; the parts whereof thus changing one after another, the whole world still continues fresh and new. Now that is ever best and most seasonable, which is for the good of the Whole. Thus it appears that death of it self can neither be hurtfull to any in particular, because it is not a shamefull thing; (for neither is it a thing that depends of our own will, nor of it self contrary to the common good;) and generally, as it is both expedient and reasonable to the Whole, that in that respect it must

must needs be good. It is that also which is brought unto us by the order and appointment of the divine providence; so that he whose will and mind in these things runs along with the divine ordinance, and by this concurrence of his will and mind with the Divine providence, is lead and driven along as it were by God himself, may truly be termed and esteemed the *Θεοπονητός*, or *Divinely led and inspired*.

XVIII. These three things thou must always have in a readiness: First concerning thine own actions, whether thou doest nothing either idly, or otherwise than justice and equity do require: and concerning those things that happen unto thee externally, that either they happen unto thee by chance, or by providence; either of which to accuse, is equally against reason. Secondly, what our bodies are like unto [or, *what are the beginnings of our bodies*] whilst yet rude and imperfect, untill they be *animated*; and from their *animation* untill their expiration: of what things they are compounded, and into what things they shall be dissolved. Thirdly, [how vain all things will appear unto thee] when, from on high as it were, looking down, thou shalt contemplate all things upon Earth, and the wonderful mutability that they are subject unto: considering withall both the immenseness of that Air and of that Heaven [or, *the infinite both greatness and variety of things aerial and things celestial*], that are round about it: and that as often as thou shalt behold them, thou

See B.VII
n. XXVI.

thou shalt still see the same; as the same things, so the same shortness of continuance of all those things. And, behold, These be the things that we are so proud and puffed up for.

XIX. Cast away from thee opinion, and thou art safe. And what is it that hinders thee from casting of it away! When thou art grieved at any thing, hast thou forgotten that all things happen according to the Nature of the Universe; and that him onely it concerns who is in fault; and moreover, that what is now done, is that which from ever hath been done in the world, and will ever be done, and is now done every where: how nearly all men are allied one to another by a kindred not of blood, nor of seed, but of the same mind? Thou hast also forgotten that every man's mind partakes of the Deity, and issueth from thence; and that no man can properly call any thing his own, no not his child, nor his body, nor his life, for that they all proceed from that One [*who is the giver of all things* :] That all things are but opinion; that no man lives properly, but that very instant of time which is now present; [*or, that all life properly doth consist in this present instant of time separated from that which is either past or future* :] And therefore that no man [*whensoever he dyeth*] can properly be said to lose any more than an instant of time.

See B. II.
n. XII.

XX. Let thy thoughts ever run upon them, who once for some one thing or other were moved with extraordinary indignation; who were once in the highest pitch of either honour
or

or calamity, or mutual hatred and enmity; or of any other fortune or condition whatsoever. Then consider what's now become of all those things. All is turned to smoak; all to ashes, and a more fable; and perchance not so much as a fable. As also whatsoever is of this Nature, as *Pabius Catulinus* in the field, *Lucius Lupus*, and *Stertinius* at *Baia*, *Tiberius* at *Caprea*, *Velius Rufus*, and all such examples of vehement prosecution in worldly matters; let these also run in thy mind at the same time; and how vile every object of such earnest and vehement prosecution is; and how much more agreeable to true Philosophy it is, for a man to carry himself in every matter that offers it self, justly and moderately, as one that followeth the gods with all simplicity. For, for a man to be proud and high-conceited, that he is not proud and high-conceited, is of all kind of pride and presumption the most intolerable.

XXI. To them that ask thee, Where hast thou seen the gods, and how knowest thou certainly that there be gods, that thou art so devout in their worship? I answer first of all, that even to the very eye they are in some manner visible and apparent. Secondly, neither have I ever seen mine own soul, and yet I respect and honour it. So then for the gods, by the daily experience that I have of their power [and providence towards my self and others,] I know certainly that they are, and therefore worship them.

XXII. Herein doth consist happiness of life, for a man to know thoroughly the true Nature

Gr. πᾶν τὸ
κατὰ φύσιν
ἐστίν.

of every thing; What is the matter, and what is the form of it: with all his heart and soul, ever to doe that which is just; and to speak the truth. What then remaineth, but to enjoy thy life in a course and coherence of good actions, one upon another immediately succeeding, and never interrupted, though for never so little a while?

XXIII. There is but one light of the Sun, though it be intercepted by walls and mountains, and other thousand objects. There is but one common substance of the whole World, though it be concluded and restrained into several different bodies, in number infinite. There is but one common soul, though divided into innumerable particular essences and natures. So is there but one common intellectual soul, though it seem to be divided. And as for all other parts of those Generals which we have mentioned, as either sensitive souls or subjects, these of themselves (as naturally irrational) have no common mutual reference one unto another, though many of them contain a Mind [or, *Reasonable Faculty*] in them, whereby they are ruled and governed [or, *that hath power and authority over them.*] But of every reasonable mind this is the particular nature, that it hath reference to whatsoever is of her own kind, and desireth to be united: neither can this common affection, or mutual unity and correspondency, be here intercepted or divided, or confined to particulars [*as those other common things are.*]

XXIV. What dost thou desire? To live long. What? To enjoy the operations of a sensitive

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soul,

soul, or of the appetitive Faculty? or wouldst thou grow, and then decrease again? Wouldst thou long be able to talk, to think and reason with thy self? which of all these seems unto thee a worthy object of thy desire? Now if of all these thou dost find that they be but little worth in themselves, proceed on unto the last, which is, In all things to follow God and Reason. But for a man to grieve that by death he shall be deprived of any of these things, is both against God and Reason.

XXV. What a small portion of vast and infinite eternity it is, that is allowed unto every one of us, and how soon it vanisheth into the general age of the world: of the common substance, and of the common soul also what a small portion is allotted unto us; and in what a little clod of the whole Earth (as it were) it is that thou dost crawl. After thou shalt rightly have considered these things with thy self, fanſie not any thing else in the world any more to be of any weight or moment but this, to doe that onely which thine own nature doth require; and to conform thy self to that which the common Nature doth afford.

XXVI. What is the present estate of my understanding? For herein lieth all indeed. As for all other things, they are without the compass of mine own will; and if without the compass of my will, then are they as dead things unto me, and as it were mere smoak.

XXVII. To stir up a man to the contempt of death, this among other things is of good power and efficacy, that even they who esteemed pleasure

pleasure to be happiness, and pain misery, did nevertheless [*many of them*] contemn death [*as much as any.*] And can death be terrible to him, to whom that onely seems good which [*in the ordinary course of nature*] is seasonable? to him, to whom whether his actions be many or few, so they be all good, is all one; and who whether he behold the things of the world [*being always the same*] either for many years, or for few years onely, is altogether indifferent? O man! as a Citizen thou hast lived and conversed in this great City [*the world.*] Whether just for so many years, or no, what is it unto thee? Thou hast lived (thou mayst be sure) as long as the Laws and Orders of the City required; which may be the common comfort of all. Why then should it be grievous unto thee, if not a Tyrant, nor an unjust Judge, but the same nature that brought thee in, doth now send thee out of the world? As if the *Prætor* should fairly dismiss him from the scene [*or stage*] whom he had taken in to act a while. Oh, but the play is not yet at an end; [or, I have not yet pronounced all the five parts;] there are but three Acts yet acted. Thou hast well said: for in matter of life, three Acts [*or, Parts*] is the whole Play. Now to set a certain time to every man's acting, belongs unto him onely, who as first he was the cause of thy *composition*, so is he now of thy dissolution. As for thy self, thou hast to doe with neither. Go thy ways then well pleased and contented: for so is he that dismisseth thee.

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NOTES UPON
ANTONINUS.

UPON

The First Book.

THE inscription of these Books is, *M. Antoninus ὁς εἰς ἐαυτὸν* which I verily believe to be *Antoninus's* own; because both for propriety and obscurity so suitable to these his Books. For as no other Title could fit the subject of these Books better, if rightly understood; so is the obscurity of it such, that few I think have penetrated into the true meaning of it. Not they, I believe, (as that ancient Greek Author, whom *Snidas* doth allege) who expound it, *τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ διαγορεύειν* much less they (as *Xylander* and many others) who translate it, *De vita sua*. *Canterus* comes nearer: *De officio suo*. But, *De seipso* (as *Xylander* himself in his first Edition had well rendred it, but ill expounded it, *sen vita sua*;) or *De se*; as my Father (of blessed memory) doth render it in divers places,

is both more literal, and more true by far. Now by *ἑαυτὸν*, you must know, the *Stoicks* understood *τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ δόγματα*, a man's reason or intellectual part, and his opinions, by which he did frame and order the course of his life. Of all other things whatsoever, they held, that they were little or nothing at all unto man; (and therefore termed them *ἀδιάφορα*, or things indifferent:) his mind and his opinions (in their judgment,) being the only thing that every man in himself could properly call *Himself*. *Μηδὲ ποτε ὑπὸ τῆς κοινῶν, μηδὲ ἰπαινεῖτε μηδὲ ψέγετε, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ δόγματων. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστι τὰ ἴδια ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὰ καὶ τὰς πράξεις αἰσχρὰς ἢ καλὰς ποιῶντα.* Never either commend or discommend any man for ordinary common things, (which men usually are either commended or discommended for:) but only for his *Dogmata*, or certain Tenets in points of life and practice. For they only are that which every man may truly account his own, and that only which can make actions either shamefull or praise-worthy. See *Antoninus* himself Book VIII. Number (as for the ease and convenience of the Reader we have divided him) XXXVIII. And again B. X. N. XXXVIII. XII. 2. 26. See *Plato* himself at large in his *Alcibiades*, &c. and out of him *Iamblicus* in his *Protrepticks*, and *Julian* the *Apollate* in his 2^d Oration. *Apuleius* de Deo *Socr.* Si cotidiana eorum era dispungas, invenies in rationibus multa prodigia profusa, & in Semet nihil. In sui dico Demonis cultum. If thou shalt run over their ordinary expenses (saith he) thou shalt find that upon many other occasions they have been very prodigal and excessive; but upon Themselves at little or no cost at all. Upon their

their own Demon [or, Spirit: See note 8. upon Book II.] I mean, &c. So much upon the Title of this Book was by me written at the first, when I first set out this translation of *Antoninus*, A. D. 1634. and 1635. Eight years after, to wit, A. D. 1643. I did set him out in Greek and Latin, with larger and more elaborate Notes and Animadversions, as it became me, having now to doe with all the learned of Europe, to whom I was accountable for what I had done, being the first man (since the *παλαιοτητα* of good learning and literature: *absit invidia verbo*;) that had taken upon me publickly, to make this divine work of the best and most learned of all the Emperours that ever were, intelligible and usefull: as in the Prefaces, both Latin and English, hath been more largely discoursed. In those Latin Notes before mentioned, I have largely disputed and proved, that the true and exact interpretation of this Title, *de tulo*, is, *Of himself, and to himself*: neither do I see, or much fear, what can be opposed against it by any man. But it is very strange to me, and such kind of dealing as I have not known before, that some that have set out this Authour since, in Greek and Latin with Commentaries; though they take very good notice of my English Translation (the first Edition of it) and of the Notes there; yet they take no notice at all (nor once mention it, that I know of,) of the Latin; nor of those more elaborate Notes and Animadversions we spake of. I am sure, they could not say they had never seen it, (a thing very improbable, however;) who have said and acknowledged, they had it in their Study ever since it

ancient Authour cited by *Suidas*, who speaking of *Antoninus*, ἀγαθῆς μὲν καὶ ἄλλων γινόμενος, ὕψιστον δόξαν καὶ Σέβητι ἐκ Βοιωτίας φιλοσόφῳ ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ρώμης (saith he with great admiration:) θαμίζων αὐτῷ καὶ ποιεῖν ἐν δούραις. And that he did so to his dying day appeareth by that which followeth in the same writer. *Tantum in eo studium Philosophiæ fuit* (they are the words of *Julius Capitolinus* in his life:) *ut adscitus jam in Imperatoriam dignitatem, tamen ad domum Apollonii discendi causa veniret. Audivit & Sextum Cheronensem, &c.* And again, *Studuit & Juri, audiens L. Volusium, &c.* *Frequentavit & declamatorum Scholas publicas, &c.* So much I think will suffice, to make any man confess that it must be written, as I have interpreted it, not ἐν μὴ, but τὸ με εἰς Δημοσίας, &c. or without any pronoun (if any man had rather have it so, because it is omitted in most places, though expressed in some towards the end,) τὸ εἰς Δημ. &c.

2. Not easily to believe those things which are commonly, &c.] The words are, καὶ τὸ ἀπιστηκὸν (ἀπιστηκὸν in the Second Edition:) τοῖς τοῖς περὶ ἀπομνημονεύων, &c. *Xylander* in his Translation corrects it, ἀπιστηκὸν which is very probable. *Suidas* cites it, ἐπιστηκὸν, which I cannot altogether reject, because ἐπιστήμη and ἐπιστάνειν are words that *Antoninus* doth often use, and to this purpose: as where he saith, καὶ τὸ ἐπιστάνειν, ἔστω ἀληθὲς ἦν. But in this sense I must confess, it should rather have been, ἐπιστηκὸν περὶ τῶν ἀπομνημονεύων. However, that *Antoninus* by these words doth understand the Christians,

Christians, I think probable for these reasons. First, because (as appeareth by the ancients) Christians were ordinarily accounted by the Heathens, and Christ himself held by them to have been a great Magician. Secondly, that the Heathens themselves, not onely upon other occasions, but especially for Dæmoniacks, and such as were possessed, made often use of Christians, appeareth by more than one passage of *Tertullian*: and in particular, how *Lucilla*, daughter to this *Antoninus*, infested with the Devil, was cured by one *Abercius*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*, may be seen by the acts and particulars of it yet extant. Whether also those laws of *Antoninus*, made against them; *qui sub obtentu & monitu deorum quædam vel renuntiant, vel jactant, vel scientes effugant, quales hominum animi superstitione Numinis vertuntur*, mentioned by *Ulpianus* and *Modestinus*, were made against Christians, as some are of opinion, I will not determine. Now if so be that *Antoninus* doth here intend the Christians, I do not see, how he could altogether discredit the truth of their strange and miraculous operations: especially if we give credit to those acts extant, not as yet, that I know of, questioned by any: and if he did not intend them particularly, (which I confess is not necessary that we should believe) then that in general he should discredit all such operations, as were accounted miraculous and supernatural, is much less credible; whereas (besides many good reasons that might be given to the contrary,) the Christians themselves (as *Athenagoras*, who then lived) did not deny, but that strange things in that kind were done and brought to pass

among

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among the very Heathens. Τὸ μὲν δὲ καὶ τόπος καὶ πό-
 λεις καὶ ἔθνη γινέσθαι πυναι ἅπ' ὀνόματι εἰδωλῶν ἐπεργάται,
 ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀντιλέγομεν. That in some certain places
 and towns of several Nations some operations (or,
 wonderfull effects) are brought to pass in the name
 of Idols, is not by us denied: saith he in his Apo-
 logy. I say therefore, except we much restrain
 Antoninus his words, of such and such impostours,
 and of such and such wonders; I do not see how
 he could profess that he did ἀπιστεῖν. but ἐπιστήσας
 well he might; that is, first with best discretion
 and diligence examine things before he did believe
 them: and then, in case the truth did appear, yet
 not as one of the silly multitude, to stand amazed
 with a superstitious kind of astonishment, but as
 a wise man to consider of the causes and possibi-
 lity of all such whether onely seeming, because
 secret; or truly and really supernatural events
 and operations. For these reasons I conceive it
 should have been either τὸ ἐπιστηπικὸν περὶ τῶν λεγο-
 μένων, he did consider of them with discretion: or,
 τὸ μὴ ἐπιστηπικὸν τοῖς λεγομ. at least; that he gave no
 great heed to such things; rather than so abso-
 lutely τὸ ἀπιστηπικὸν, that he did not believe. But I de-
 termine it not. All this while, though my mat-
 ter did in a manner lead me unto it, have I for-
 born to mention that great wonder, which in the
 days, and in the very presence of this Antoninus,
 happened in his Wars of Germany, when God at
 the same time by a miraculous rain from Heaven,
 both revived the Romans, which were now at the
 last cast, having lost already many of their num-
 ber, which perished for want of water; and
 overthrew their enemies in the height of their
 greatest

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greatest hopes and security: acknowledged by all generally, as well Heathens as Christians, miraculous; but by the Heathens ascribed, by some of them, to God immediately; by others, to art Magick; and by the Christians, both Fathers and Historians, to the Name of Christ, at the Intercession of some Christian Soldiers of the Army. Before I would ground any thing upon this story, I must first profess my mind concerning some circumstances of it, wherein I may perchance be found to differ from others; and that I would be loth to doe but upon very good grounds, which would require a large discourse; and therefore it is that I have declined it. I will onely tell you (because it may concern *Antoninus*, that you know it) what learned men have judged of those letters, which in these days go under *Antoninus* his Name written by him to the Senate about this matter (produced by *Baron.* and others;) which is, that they are either *supposititia*, aut saltem interpolata. *Capp. Hist. Eccles. p. 42.* See *Scaliger* upon *Eusebius*; and *Salmatius* in *Aug. Hist. scriptores*,

3. Not to keep coturnices *Ἰνὶ ὀρνυῶ Έρῶν*. How marvellously and even madly some men were wont to affect such things, may appear by the composition of the word *ὀρνυῶνια*, which among other examples of the like composition, as *γυναικομανία*, &c. is set down by *Athenens*, lib. 11.

4. I did write Dialogues in my youth] in imitation of *Plato* and others: to good purpose, as *Antoninus* did it; but not as many others, who took a pride

pride in it, and thought themselves fine fellows for it. ἰδὲ πῶς διαλόγους συντίθημι. Behold how bravely I can write Dialogues: saith a vain-glorious Stoick, Arr. lib. 2. cap. 1. The next words may be conferred with those of *Capitolinus* in this Emperour's life: *Duodecimum annum ingressus habitum philosophi sumpsit, & deinceps tolerantiam, cum stude- ret in pallio, & humi cubaret: vix autem matre agente infrato pellibus lectulo accubaret.* Thus may many other places be compared with the like either of *Capitolinus*, or others that have written his life, or, of him, which will be no great labour for any to doe, that desires to understand this Book, and would be too tedious for me to undertake: which I desire the Reader to take notice of.

5. That I did never affect by way of ostentation] ἡ θαντασιοπλήκτως τὸν ἀσκητὴν, &c. Of this kind of vanity see *Epietetus* in *Arrianus* at large, lib. 6. cap. 12. πρὸς ἀσκήσεως, Sen. Ep. XV. Stulta est, mi *Lucili*, & minimè conveniens literato viro occupatio exercendi lacertos, &c.

6. *Epietetus* his *Hypomnemata*] collected and set out by *Arrianus* his Scholar, and so called and intituled by *Arrianus* himself, in his Preface before the said Books: as Learned Mr. *Patrick Young*, the worthy Keeper of the King's Library, and my kind friend, had noted in the Margin of that *Antoninus* which he did lend me.

7. A man not subject to be vexed] *Antoninus* his words are, καὶ τὸ ἐν πῶς ἐξηγήσας μὴ θυγεραι- πικόν.

πικρὸν καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν ἀνθρώπον σαφῶς ἐλαχρόν ἢ ἑαυτὸν καλῶν
 ἠγάθον πλεονεξίαν, καὶ πλεονεξίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ
 παραδιδόναι τὰ διωρήματα· καὶ τὸ μὲν πῶς δεῖ λαμβάνειν
 τὰς δοκούσας χάριτας, καὶ φίλων, μὴτε ἐξηπαιδευμένον διὰ
 ταῦτα, μὴτε ἀναδιδόντα. *Xylander*
 translates them, *Tum etiam ut in percipienda*
doctrina me non morosum praberem, sed circumspice-
rem de homine qui palam experientiam, & in tradendis
scientiis facultatem minimum suorum bonorum putaret,
præterea modum beneficia (ut iis videntur) ab amicis
accipiendi, ne vel accepta ea nos viliores redderent,
vel, &c. The reason of that limitation, τὰς δοκούσας
 (as commonly they are accounted,) added by *Antoninus*
 to the word χάριτας, is, because that favours and
 courtesies may be thought a thing arbitrary, which
 either to perform or to omit wholly depends of
 our own good will and discretion; whereas all
 possible good turns and good offices of what kind
 or extent soever, that one man can perform unto
 another, are, by *Antoninus* his Philosophy, mere
 duties of nature and right reason: which all men,
 as men, are equally obliged unto. So afterwards
 using the word τιμὰς of things external and world-
 ly against the precise decrees of the *Stoicks*, he
 restrains it likewise with a δοκούσας, τὰς δοκούσας
 τιμὰς· honours and dignities, as commonly they are
 accounted;

8. Not to be offended with Idiots, nor unseasonably to set] τὸ ἀνεκπικρὸν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, καὶ τὸ ἀσεβῶν
 τῶν οἰομένων. There was not any thing more ordi-
 nary with their vain-glorious affected *Stoicks*,
 than in all places and upon all occasions, *semper*
crepare Theoremata, To be ever talking and dis-
 puting

puting about their Theorems and proper Tenets: so that this very word *Theoremata* became almost infamous, through their abuse and vanity. To repress this abuse the learned Stoicks, who are yet extant, have many caveats and serious admonitions. But most pertinent here are *Epictetus* his words, cap. 68. μή λάλει τὸ πολὺ ἐν ἰδιώταις περὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων, which he repeats in the very next chapter also. οἷσις and οἷσιν are words so frequent and ordinary, in the writings of the *Stoicks* appropriated by them to them, that they called *Idiots*, or *worldly men*, as creatures that in very deed see nothing as it is, nor know the true nature of any thing, but are altogether led by fancies and opinions; that I shall not need to produce any examples. Now for the word ἀθεωρήτων, that I offer it no violence to translate it as I do, may appear by this passage of *Diog. Laertius*, who writes that the *Stoicks* called vertues some θεωρηματικές, τὰς ἔχουσιν πλὴν σῆμασιν ἐν θεωρημάτων, and some ἀθεωρήτες, ὅπ μὴ ἔχουσιν συγκαταθέσεις, &c. If this would not serve, with little alteration it might have been read to the same purpose τῶν θεωρημάτων, τῶν ἀθεωρήτων, τῶν ὁμιλῶν. For in the *Stoicks* language οἱ ἰδιῶται, οἱ ἀθεωρήτοι (taken in another sense) and οἱ οἰόμενοι are all one thing; as could easily have shewed.

9. Who are commonly called εὐπαγεῖδαι] His meaning by these words I take to be no other, than That many great Men (partly because they think it becomes not their gravity so well to take any thing much to heart, and partly for other reasons, easie to be guessed at by them that are acquainted

acquainted with ancient Histories:) are not commonly so tender-hearted. Some such thing it was that *Antoninus Pius* alluded unto, when in excuse of this our *Antoninus* his (as it was thought by others) unseemly lamentation for the death of his Foster-father, he used these words: *Permitte illi ut homo sit, neque enim vel Philosophia, vel Imperium tollit affectus.* And whereas I render the words before, (οἷα ἢ τυραννικὴ βασιλεύα, &c.) the state of a tyrannous King: it may be the words import no more than what I find recorded by the Historians, that when *Antoninus* first came to the Empire, he disputed among his friends, *qua mala in se contineret Imperium.* The word ἐλαθρεία, some lines after, I might have translated, I know, more literally: especially those words of *Capitolinus* being considered, *cum populo non aliter egit, quàm est actum sub civitate libera.* But then would it have been taken by many of the Vulgar quite contrary to *Antoninus* his meaning: whose meaning we may best know by his form of Government, which he never went about to alter, that I know of. *Finis iusti imperii* (to use *Amm. Marcellinus* his words) *ut sapientes docent, utilitas obedientiam aestimatur & salus.* He might also allude perchance to that ἐλαθρεία that he speaketh of, *Lib. IX. n. 40. and n. 5. of this first Book.* And the rather, because I find there was a report among the people concerning this Emperour, *quod populum sublatis voluptatibus vellet cogere ad philosophiam.* *Jul. Capitol.* in his life.

10. From *Claudius Maximus*] It is printed,

εὐχέλαια

ἡδὲ καὶ Μαξίμῳ, &c. whereas in all other examples from the beginning to the end, it is constantly πρὸς. as πρὸς τῷ πατρί, πρὸς Διογένητι, πρὸς Ποσειδῶνι, &c. But that here also it must of necessity be so, may be collected by these words following some few lines after, ἐκ πάλαι αὐτῷ μεδίσιν, &c. which words if you refer to ἡδὲ καὶ Μαξίμῳ, you cannot possibly make any sense of. But if unto πρὸς, it will be here, as in other places, where this πρὸς must be paraphrased, not onely, *I have learned from*, but also, *I have observed in*; as in the example immediately before, πρὸς τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου Σεβήρῳ, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἰδεῖν σοφισμῶν τοῦ φίλου αὐτοῦ, &c. It was written it seems πρὸς καὶ Μαξίμῳ, &c. which was turned into ἡδὲ καὶ Μαξίμῳ. That this *Maximus's* forename was *Claudius*, we learn by the Historians. *Capitolinus*; *Audius & Sextum Charonensem, Plutarchi nepotem, Junium Rusticum, Clandium Maximum & Cinnam Catulum, Stoicos.*

Hence therefore may their error be clearly refuted (in which I wonder so many great men have been) who confound this *Claudius Maximus* with that other *Maximus Tyrius*, mentioned by *Eusebius*, whose works (or part of them at least) are yet extant; whenas besides the difference of the Names, this also should have moved them to be of another mind, that the one was a profest Stoick, and the other a Platonick. As for *Eusebius* therefore, who may seem to have been in the same error, and indeed to have led others into it, his Greek words are miscited and mistaken, (though the mistake be ancient it seems;) and must of necessity be corrected by the Latin, as they are yet remaining in

best Editions, being of S. Jerom's interpretation.

11. And patient bearing of others] in the Greek
 ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ ἀνυπομονή, καὶ ἡ ἀνυπομονή, καὶ
 ἡ ὑπομονή, καὶ ἡ ἀνυπομονή, καὶ ἡ ἀνυπομονή, καὶ ἡ ὑπομονή,
 which words do not well hang together, as a
 ny man may see. My Father in his Notes up-
 on *Jul. Capitol.* cites this place and writes it thus
 ἡ ὑπομονή, καὶ ἡ ἀνυπομονή, καὶ ἡ ἀνυπομονή, καὶ ἡ ὑπομονή,
 which may ve-
 ry well be, if you conceive those words, ὑπο-
 monē, καὶ ἀνυπομονή, ἀνυπομονή, καὶ ὑπομονή, &c. (as it seems my Father
 would have it,) not as *Antoninus's* own words,
 but as taken by him from some other, and here
 applied: as indeed he doth often; and so here
 perchance. Otherwise, I should like better, that
 the words were thus read, καὶ ἀνυπομονή, καὶ ὑπομονή, καὶ
 ἀνυπομονή, καὶ ὑπομονή, &c. which I have followed
 in my translation.

12. And kept an account of the common expences]
 καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ κράτους, καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ κράτους, καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ κράτους,
 τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ κράτους, καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ κράτους, καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ κράτους,
Capitolinus in his life,
Rationes omnium provinciarum apprime scivis, &
vestigatiss. &c. This book of accounts was cal-
 led *Rationarium imperii*: and it was kept very strict-
 ly by many Emperours, but not so strictly by any
 as by this *Antoninus*; who therefore was called by
 some in scorn *κρηνηνιστής*, as *Xiphilinus* recor-
 deth, and is here intimated by our *Antoninus*;
 who toucheth upon it again, B. VI. n. XXVIII.
 See also *Julian*, in his *Casares*. But as patient as
 he was, I doubt much where he would have
 born with any man, that should have reported that
 of him which *Xylander* (not *Antoninus*;) doth here,
 who

who translates this passage, *Sumptus procurabat, neque delectabat de iis rebus causam dicere*: which is little better than of a meek and patient Prince, to make him an obnoxious subject. Now if the word *τις* be not found in other Greek Authours in this very sense, yet is it a most proper word for *Antoninus* his purpose. For what is *τις* properly, but *rigor*? and *rigor* was the word that was then used among the Latins upon this occasion. So *Valerianus* in his Epistle written in the behalf of *Aurelianus*, *Vellemus q. (saith he) singulis devotissimis Reipub. viris multo majora deferre compendia—sed facit rigor publicus ut accipere de provinciarum relationibus ultra ordinis sui gradum nemo plus possit, &c.* *Flav. Vopiscus*, in the life of *Aurelianus* the Emperour.

13. That he never was commended by any man]
 οὐδὲν ἄν τις εἰπὼν μᾶλλον ὅτι σπουδῆς, μᾶλλον ὅτι δικαιοσύνης
 ἢ ἀνδρείου, μᾶλλον ὅτι φιλοστοργίας, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀνδρὸς πίστεως,
 &c. The Greek words may be interpreted,
 either that he never so commended others, or, (as
 we have rendred it,) that he never was by others
 so commended himself. For both interpretations,
 probable reasons may be given. As for the first,
 that such a man as *Antoninus* was should not be
 commended by any, for any officious obsequious man,
 should be no wonder, a man would think, but
 rather a wonder if he should. Neither do these
 other titles of *σπουδῆς*, or *φιλοστοργίας*, suite so well with
 the person of a Prince, that the omission of them
 should be noted and recorded as a matter obser-
 vable. But that so ingenuous a man as *Antoni-*
nus was, should never commend in any other

those said parts and faculties mentioned, is not in any man's judgment, I think, without some wonder; and in the judgment of a Stoick, must needs be very commendable: out of the School of which Sect proceeded this decree, *Miserum est illi non solum interitum, sed etiam infamiam, &c.* Never either commend or discommend any man for any thing that is common and popular, but onely for his Dogmata or certain Tenets in point of life and practice, for they onely are that which every man may truly account his own, and that onely which can make our actions either shamefull or praise-worthy: as by Epictetus in Arrianus you shall find more than once expressed. But now on the other side, that which Antoninus not many lines after doth add of his Father's care, that all in any profession (as Oratours by name) excellent, might according to their desert be reputed and respected in the world; and that which in the sixth Book he doth more clearly set down of the same among other things, that he was not *Sophistes*; doth as pregnantly cross and overthrow that former interpretation. Neither is it necessary, that what is here said of *Pius*, must be understood of him when Emperour; which he was not till the year of his life 53. or thereabouts. And as for those other commendations of *Sophista* and *Scholasticus* (words, then, of the same or little different signification:) they were generally then, and many years after, titles of that high credit and esteem, that the greatest that were, as they disdained not the practice, so they were for the most part very ambitious of the Name, *Sen. Ep. 88. Magno impendio temporum, magna alienarum aurium molestia, laudatio*

15. His homely country apparel. The Greek words, as they are printed, are, ἡ ἀπὸ λαλοῦς ὄλη, ἀργύρου καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἐπαυλῶν, ἢ τῷ ἐν λαυβίῳ τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐν τῶν παλαιῶν παρασκευῶν αἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰώνων. Two learned men have had already to doe with this place, and several ways have gone about to correct it; as may be seen in their Notes and Comments upon the *Augusta Historie scriptores*. I may not interpose myself as a Judge between them, for many reasons: neither indeed do I see reason enough yet in their interpretations, that I can warrant either to be true. And therefore though I have translated them, yet I warrant nothing here, but rather desire the Reader to read them, and use his own judgement: and to remember withall that *Antoninus* wrote not these things unto others, but to himself: So that it can be no wonder if in such passages concerning things so private he cannot be understood by us so long after, though he might very well understand himself, and perchance be understood by them that lived in those days, and knew both him and those that are mentioned by him familiarly.

16. To live in the Court without either guards or followers. ἡ μὴ ἐκφυγοῦσθαι χεῖρην, μὴ ἐκφυγοῦσθαι, μὴ λαμπάδα καὶ ἀνδραγαθῶν τιμῶν πρῶτον, καὶ τὸ ὁμοῦ κοῦρον. *Lipsius* in his Comments upon *Tacitus* takes it for granted, that this place must needs be understood of those things which were properly called τὰ οὐρανοῦ, or, *Insignia Imperii*. Indeed ἡ ἀνδραγαθία, I confess, or αἱ ἀνδραγαθίαι, is commonly the first that is reckoned among these

particulars; and yet the words are not so proper to express the Royal guard, but they are sometimes used of any troop or company, that either in duty, good-will, or respect, attend any one, though he be neither King nor Prince. As for the words *ἐδούτις οὐμνησίδος*, or rather *αὐδ' ἰδ' αὐτῶν* (translated by *Lipsius*, *insignes vestes, purpuræque*) they contain no more than extraordinary apparel in general; or that which the Latines called *vestes clavatae*; of which there were many kinds. All the question is, by *λαμπάς* and *ἀνδ' ἰδ' αὐτῶν* what is to be understood. By *λαμπάς* that πῦρ or fire (saith *Lipsius*) which *Herodian* testifieth was wont in his time to be carried before the Emperour, as *Insigne Majestatis*. A strange thing to me it is, if this πῦρ were a λαμπάς indeed, that *Herodian* making mention of it so often as he doth (four several times at the least) should never call it λαμπάς, but always τὸ πῦρ. But if this were granted of λαμπάς, what are these ἀνδ' ἰδ' αὐτῶν that *Antoninus* speaks of here? doth any other Authour mention any such thing among the *Insignia Imperii*? That indeed the ancient Romans had their *cubiculares imagines* (as is observed by my Father upon *Suetonius*;) and that the latter Emperours of Rome did keep a *Fortunam Auream* in their Bed-chambers as *Insigne Imperii*, I know. Of these I am sure these ἀνδ' ἰδ' αὐτῶν here mentioned cannot be understood, and *Lipsius* tells us nothing of them at all, nor any other that I know. For my part, I much incline to think, that *Anton.* doth not here speak of those *Insignia* particularly, but that he doth instance in these particulars, as particulars of worldly pomp and

and magnificence in general: which he himself by those words (*ὅς τῷ ὁμοίῳ κούρῳ*) doth seem to intimate. Now amongst those many descriptions of great worldly pomp and magnificence that have been made by ancient Anthours, there is not any that hath been more taken notice of (imitated since by others, and among others by *Virgil* himself in his *Culex*,) than that of *Lucretius*, in his second Book, the very beginning whereof is,

*Si non aurea sunt Juvenum Simulachra per ades,
Lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris,
Lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppedissentur, &c.*

And yet long before *Lucretius*, had a greater Poet, even *Homer*, the Poet of Poets, used the same expression, whom *Lucretius* herein doth seem rather to translate than imitate: for as their sense; so their words are the same, without any difference, but of the language. *Homer's* words in the description of *Alcinous* his Palace are these:

*Χρύσειος δ' ἄρα κούρῃ ἐνδμήτων ὅτι βασιλῆς
ἔσσαν αἰδομένης δαΐδας ὑπὸ χροῖν ἔχοντες
φάνοις νύκτας καὶ δόματα δατυμένους.*

Where though there could be no great doubt of it, yet since the Scholiast thought good to make a note of it, I think it not impertinent to transcribe it hither from him, that by *χρύσειος κούρῃ* are to be understood *αἰδομένης πρὸς* which is the word by *Anton.* here used. And though *Lucretius* doth not here mention sumptuous apparel at all, yet elsewhere I find that he doth (in his V. B.) upon that same occasion, and the very self-same that

that is here expressed by *Antoninus*. His words are (speaking of the simplicity of the old time,) *Frigus enim nudos sine pellibus excruciat* *Terrigenis: et nos nil ludit veste carere Purpurea, atque auris signisque ingentibus apta*: which is as directly as may be. I need not say more. Let the Reader judge. I must only add, that whereas *Antoninus* may be thought to commit a kind of *Tautology* in these words, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσι τὰ οὐκ οὐκ, his meaning by those τῶν δὲ πᾶσι is, to distinguish those λαμπράς and ἀνδραγαθίας from ordinary common ones, such as were in every Roman's house almost, which could be no fit instance of great excess and sumptuousness; but such and such as were ordinary among the great ones and in great places.

17. So that as for the Gods] ὡς δὲ θεοὶ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, πᾶσι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἕν, ὡς ἀνθρώποις. ἢ τὸ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς ἕν, ὡς ἀνθρώποις, &c. *Xyl.* Quod ad Deos attineret — nihil jam ob stare, quin aut secundam naturam viverem, aut non. Atque hoc quidem fore mea culpa, qui Deum monitus, &c. Between the particles ἔν and ἐν there is a manifest opposition, which *Xylander* did not observe. The words otherwise, I confess, are somewhat intricate and confused. Not long after, ὡς δὲ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι, is by *Xylander* rendered. *Placque Caetera sicut Chrese*, as if it had been, ὡς δὲ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι, which although *Xylander* do not so well like of in his Notes, and therefore I may the better be excused, if I did not follow him; yet I durst undertake to maintain it to be most right. For *Caetera*, we know, was an Haven.

Haven-Town of Campania in Italy; where *Antoninus*, as it shall seem, having been an earnest suitor by the sea-shore, whether to *Apollo*, or any other Heathen God, for something or other, wherein he conceived himself afterwards to have been heard; it could not but put him in mind of *Chryses*, *Apollo's* Priest, who is described in *Homer's* *Iliad*. i. earnestly praying *Ἰὼν Στράπυλον φησὶν ἑκατόν*, that is, by the sea-shore; and there immediately obtaining his request. That the sea-shore was a place in great request with *Antoninus*, he himself professeth B. IV. n. III.

18. An unsociable uncharitable Man] *ἀσυννους*, (a frequent word with him) must in *Antoninus* be taken as the opposite of *κοινωνικός*, a sociable Man, one who out of a due respect unto, and affectionate care of humane society, and of the publick community of men, is in all things that tend to their good; willing to fit and accommodate himself unto others, accounting their welfare his own happiness. He then that is not so, is *ἀσυννους*, that is in general, an unsociable man. Now the virtue of a sociable man consisting especially partly in meekness and affability, and partly in goodness and bountifulness; *ἀσυννους* may be more particularly interpreted either a harsh, rigid and arrogant man; or one that is hard-hearted and uncharitable. Of these two, because *Antoninus* doth always use the word *ἀσυννους* whether adjectively or substantively, with special relation to *κοινωνία*, *κοινωνία*, and the like; by which words he doth also sometimes express him-

self: the proper signification of ἀνομιαν must in his acceptation be that which is properly contrary to goodness and bountifulness. But as Charity, being otherwise of it self but one particular virtue, is nevertheless in another sense and respect said to comprehend all other virtues, (as Rom. 13. 1 Cor. 13. and elsewhere we are taught at large,) so that a man any ways vicious may be called an uncharitable man: even so is the word unfociable used by Antonin. which therefore I know not how better to express, than by the word uncharitable. And here I cannot but say somewhat of the marvelous consent of this Heathen man's Philosophy with the holy Scriptures. That it doth in many things agree with the sacred Word of God, any man that reads him will easily observe. But however, that in many it doth agree, I do not so much regard, as that it doth in the chiefest. In those things, I mean, which in the Scriptures are termed, τὰ μεγάλα τὰ νόμι in the Old Testament, and in the New, τὰ βασίμια τὰ νόμι of which kind especially are those two great Commandments, to love God with all our hearts, and our Neighbours as our selves. Which be the very things which in these books are most pressed and stood upon; as might appear by a number of passages, obvious enough to any man that reads him, or almost any part of him. And as our Saviour saith of those, that on them the Law and the Prophets do hang: so doth Anton. in some places seem to reduce all his Philosophy to these two very points: τὸ ἀρετὴ (saith he in a place) τὸ δ' ἄλλο ἢ δὲς ἢ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἐννοεῖν, ἀδραστεῖ δ' ἐννοεῖν; what will suffice thee, as long as thou livest? what else, but

Hof. 8. 12.
Mat. 23. 23

B. V. num.
XXVII.

mid

to

worship and praise the gods; and to do good unto
 men? and again, in another Book: ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς βιβλίῳ. B. VI.
 ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς βιβλίῳ. n. VI.
 ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς βιβλίῳ. Let the onely object
 of thy joy and content in this world be this, from one
 charitable action presently to pass unto another, God
 always remembered in all. And in the same Book
 again; αἰδῶ θεοῦ, σὺν τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ βραχὺς ὁ βίος,
 καὶ καρπὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος ζωῆς, διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ
 τῆς ἀρετῆς. Fear the Gods, succour them that are in mise-
 ry [or, intend the good and preservation of men:] this
 life is but short, and the onely fruit and comfort of
 this earthly life is, a holy disposition, and actions that
 are charitable. In the same Book; ἐν ᾧ πολλὴ ἀξία,
 καὶ μὴ ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἐν τῷ τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἀ-
 νδρείᾳ διαβίῳ. There is but one thing in this present
 life that is of great consequence; and by us much to be
 respected; for a man whilst he liveth living accor-
 ding to justice and truth, kindly and lovingly to con-
 verse with false unrighteous men. And again, as the
 Apostle doth particularly reduce all command-
 ments to Charity which therefore he calls the
 fulfilling of the Law, as elsewhere it is called the
 end of the Law and the bond of perfectness: so doth
 Antoninus not onely often mention ἐπιτιμία ἐπι-
 τιμῶν, &c. (which I cannot better English
 than by the word Charity) as that which is all
 in all; but also for the same reason, by words
 (as already hath been intimated) which of
 themselves are proper and peculiar to either this
 one virtue, as πολιτικός, κοινωνικός, &c. or to the
 contrary vice, as ἀκοινωνικός, &c. (words which of
 themselves imply no more than sociableness or unsoci-
 ableness; a charitable or uncharitable disposition,)

he doth include and comprehend all virtues and vices in general. And whereas I have mentioned the word *πολιτικός* as proper to signifie a sociable, or charitable disposition; of it self indeed, and as *Anton.* doth use it, it is so: howbeit it is not so used by all. For *Plato* (whom *Anton.* otherwise both in words and sentences doth studiously follow,) first taking the word more popularly, for one that beareth offices in the Common-wealth, and for an ambitious aspiring man; as *Anton.* doth extend that more proper signification of the word, to imply an honest virtuous man in general: so he (upon farther consequences and deductions from the present estate of that Common-wealth whereof he was a member,) that other more popular word, in general to express a vicious ungodly man. In a matter of such weight and consequence as this, which by Writers both divine and humane is made the very matter indeed and purpose of our lives and of all religion, I thought I ought to be the larger, to make the words fully understood; for sure I am they are oftentimes much mistaken.

19. *Blond, bones, and a skin*] *ἀνδρὸς ὡς ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κροκόφαλλον* ἐν ῥόδῳ, *ὁλοθῶν, ἀνθρώπου πλυνγυδίου*, &c. It is certain that *κροκόφαλλον* (whereof the Latin word *crocophallus* in the 34. D. l. 2. *de anro* & arg. leg. 25. was made,) or *καρυδοῦλον*, was properly some *Periphrasis*, or coise used by women to cover their head and hairs; answerable (if not the very same) to that which by the Latins was called *reticulus* or *reticulum*. As for the words therefore, we might have thought that *Antoninus* here had alluded to that part of the body which

which the Latins usually call *omentum*, and by the Greeks is sometimes called γαγγαμῶν and σπλῆν, (a Fisher's Net properly;) as is observed by the Anatomists: and that these following words, ἐν σπλῆνι, φλεβίων, ἀρτηριῶν πλεγματόν, had been a farther explication of this *reticulus* or γαγγαμῶν: the reason of this Greek application being rendered by Pollux, because that (the *omentum*, scil. or σπλῆν) ἐν σπλῆνι ἐστὶ πλέγμα, καὶ δὲ σπλῆν, &c. and that the Anatomists do farther describe it, as consisting of a world of little nerves, veins and arteries. And by this, I farther grant, *Antoninus* might allude (and so include) to the bowels also, covered in some sort by his *omentum*, as the hairs divided into tresses, and winded up together (not much unlike the folding and twisting of the bowels in the belly,) were covered and kept in by this *reticulus*. Yet nevertheless whether general and principal parts, as *blood* and *liver*, he should make such express mention either of the *omentum*, or (to extend it as far as may be) of the *belly* it self, more than of other parts, I know not. And therefore untill I be better satisfied, I rather understand this κορυφαίῳ here of a more general covering, to wit, the skin of the body, which though by parts of less moment, yet wholly taken, is not onely the most apparent, but also may be reckoned as a principal similiary part of the body; and so of one extraordinarily fullen in his flesh, we usually say in English, that he is nothing but *skin* and *bones*. Now if Anatomists say, that it is the opinion of the *vulgus*, that *venarum, arteriarum & nervorum extremitatibus dilatatis, & eorum inexplicabili textura generatur*.
Whe-

Whether it be so or no, I leave it to them to dispute.

Notes upon the second Book,

EVery man's happiness depends from himself] *ἡ δὲ βίη ἐν ἑαυτῷ· ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀνθρώπος αὐτῷ ὁ αὐτῷ, &c.* The purpose and meaning of all this passage, I think, is apparent enough. If I thought it were not, I would refer the Reader to n. XIV. of this very Book, and sundry other places, where he handles the same matter more at large. As for those words *ἡ δὲ βίη ἐν ἑαυτῷ*, certainly somewhat must be supplied, to make the sense full: either *ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατ' ἑαυτῷ*, as we have translated it; or, *ἐν ἑαυτῷ αὐτῷ αὐτῷ ἑαυτῷ*· which I think more probable, because Antoninus doth much affect (if I may use that word of him, and doe him no wrong) the simplicity of these repetitions, and that it is ordinary for Scribes (as is well known to all them that ever had to doe with MSS.) to slip over something, when they come to such repetitions. All this passage is thus translated (whether I speak properly or no, when

Bas. ed. p. 179. I say translated, let the Reader judge:) by Xylander, *Ignominia teipsum affice, anime, contemne teipsum, inquam; ut enim honore teipsum afficias, non tibi preterea tempus suppetet. Vita enim unicuique id prabet, quae tibi propemodum jam exacta est. Non igitur teipsum venerare, sed felicitatem tuam aliorum in animis repositam habe, &c.*

That intend not, and guide not by reason and discretion] *Τὸς τοῖς τοῖς ἰδίας λογῆς καθήκοντος μὴ*

μακάριον

παρρησια δένει, &c. Xyl. qui verò sui ipsius animi
motibus non obsequitur, &c. motus non assequitur,
at least, had been far more tolerable: ἰσοκαταξίαν
is in Antoninus a word of great weight, and doth
always import a due, right and rational apprehen-
sion of things: but it cannot always be transla-
ted alike, though never but very fitly and pro-
perly used by him: κίνησις also and κίνησις, as πε-
ρί and περί, are proper Platonick words, by
the right and full explication whereof much light
might be given to many obscure passages both of
Anton. and of others.

3. As after a vulgar sense such things] αἷμα
καὶ κοινότητες τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχρίνει, &c. Xyl. ubi osten-
dit communiorē ea inter se conferendi rationem, &c.
But they are Antoninus's words of himself, who
though he were not a profest Stoick, yet was so
respective of them, that he would not transgress
against their common Tenets and Opinions with-
out some short apology for himself. Now all
the World knows, that the Stoicks held, that om-
nia peccata were equalia, and to compare things
known and granted equal must needs be very ab-
surd. Therefore doth Antoninus by this short Pa-
renthesis here, from the rigour of their Decrees,
appeal to more vulgar and popular judgments.

4. As unable either to prevent, or better to order
and dispose] μὴ διατάξω, &c. a word (or
blasphemy rather) which most other Stoicks upon
this or the like occasion did not stick at. Whose
error therefore Anton. doth here modestly and ob-
scurely point at and correct. Epictetus (a man other-

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wise

wife so divine in his Writings, that some Christians I see, but upon weak grounds I think, have undertaken to prove him a Christian :) in *Arrian. lib. 1. cap. 1.* ὁμοίως ἔν τῳ ἁλίῳ, τὸ καύσιον αἰώνιον καὶ ἀμεταβάτον οἱ θεοὶ μόνον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐποίησαν τὴν χάριν τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ καρποσύνην· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐκ ἐφ' ἡμῶν· ἀρα οὐκ ἐκ ἡδύλων; ἐγὼ μὲν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ἐδωκυῖας, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ἡμῶν ἐπίσταται· ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐκ ἐδωκυῖας, you may reade more in him to the same purpose. So *Seneca; Mitamus animum ad ea quae aeterna sunt, miremur in sublime volitantes rerum omnium formas, Deumque inter illa versantem & providentem, quemadmodum quae immortalia facere non potuit, quia materia prohibebat, defendat à morte, ac ratione vitium corporis vincat. Epist. 58. and de Benef. lib. 2. cap. 29. Quicquid nobis negatum est, dari non potuit.*

3. As for life therefore and death, honour and dishonour] These words I would have the Reader, that is not much otherwise versed in the Stoicks, to take especial notice of, as the true ground of all their strange and unnatural Tenets and Paradoxes. That all temporal worldly blessings are common both to good and bad, they saw. That this, if there were no more in it than so, could not stand with God's justice and goodness, (which to deny is to deny that there is a God :) they saw likewise. Upon this ground (a ground that he stands much upon, and presseth as far as ever any Christian did,) *Plato's* illation was, That after this life there must needs be a Judgment, when both good and bad should according to their deeds be rewarded. The Stoicks, as fully persuaded

as Plato was, that a God there is, and he a just and good God; and yet concerning the future estate of the dead, not so fully satisfied as he was; to maintain their belief against that common exception, could find no better way than to maintain, that all those things that man usually did either seek after or flee from, as either good or bad, were in themselves and in very truth neither good nor bad, but altogether indifferent. So that whether a man was rich or poor, in health or in pain, long-lived or soon cut off, in honour or dishonour; that all this was nothing at all to either his happiness or unhappiness, no not whilst he lived, and by consequent, that it was no argument against the goodness and justice of God, that these things were known and granted to happen unto all promiscuously, whether good or bad. Antoninus doth elsewhere touch upon it again, as towards the end of the fourth, and about the beginning of the ninth Book. To him, though I intend brevity, yet for farther illustration of a point of that weight and moment, as hath been the occasion of so many large volumes, I can doe no less than add *Epictetus* his words at the least, out of his *Euchirid.* chapter, as I find him by some divided, 38. as by others, 29. Τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείας ἰδίῃ ὅτι τὸ κυριώτατον ἐκείνῳ ὅτιν, ὁρᾷς ὑπολήψεις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ὡς ὄντων καὶ διοικούντων τὰ ὅλα καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, &c. Know that in this especially true piety towards the Gods doth consist, that thou have right opinions concerning them: as, That they are, That with justice and equity they govern the whole world: That thou to this end wert ordained and appointed, to obey them, to submit unto them, and willingly to follow them in all

things, as proceeding all from him, and by him brought to pass, who is Reason and Understanding it self in the highest degree of excellency. So shalt thou never complain of the Gods, or accuse them as neglected and little cared for by them. But this cannot possibly be, except thou first give over all pursuit after those things which are not in our own power: and that on them onely which are in our power and wholly depend on our own wills, thou be fully persuaded, that all that is truly good or evil doth depend. For as for any other things, if thou shalt deem any of them good or evil, it must needs follow, that as thou dost either miss of those thou dost desire, or fall into those thou wouldst not, thou shalt not onely complain of them that are the cause, but hate them also. For this is natural unto every creature, as to shun and abhor all things hurtfull, both the things themselves, and their causes; so those that are profitable, both the things themselves, and their causes, to prosecute and highly to respect, &c.

See Ant.
P. VI. n.
n. XV. B.
IX. n. I.

6. From whose bare conceits and voices, honour and credit] ὧν αἱ ὑπολήψεις καὶ αἱ φωναὶ, πρὸς εὐδοξίαν. Τί ὅτι τὸ δοξασιεῖν, &c. quorum opiniones & voces gloriam. Quidnam est mors, &c. So Xylander translates it, and marks it for an imperfect place. That a Verb, to make the sense full, must be supplied, I grant: but because without it the sense of the words may be apparent enough, it may very well be, that whatsoever it is that is to be supplied, was by Anton. himself omitted as not necessary. Now for the sense I must appeal to other like places: as lib. III. n. IV. towards the end; Δόξης ὅτι ἐστὶ τῆς αἰσθητικῆς ἀνδραγαθίας

n. &c. Moreover that honour and praise ought not generally, &c. and again in the same Book, n. X. Μίξεν δὲ καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ὑπερβολή, &c. And the greatest fame that can remain, &c. In the fourth Book, num. III. towards the end, ἡ γὰρ γῆ, &c. For the whole Earth is but as one point, &c. But I will not heap all the passages he hath against the vanity of praise and applause. This in the sixth B. n. XV. comes very near: Τί ἐν ἡμῶν; τὸ κροῖσθαι; ἐχέει· ἔκαστος ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γλωσσῶν προτιθέμενον· αἱ γὰρ ὅλῃα τῶν πολλῶν εὐφημία, κρότος γλωσσῶν. What is it then that should be dear unto us, &c. See also the last words of the same Book.

7. And how that part of man is affected when it is said to be diffused] καὶ ὅταν πῶς ἔχῃ διακίηλαι τὸ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷτο μέρος. *Xyland. Præterea quomodo afficitur eo tactu pars illa.* I translated it as written διακίηλαι from the eighth Book towards the end, where he treats concerning the χῆσις and διακίησις of the mind and understanding. But it may be, it would fit the place better if it were καὶ ὅταν πῶς ἔχει ἢ διάκειλαι τὸ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷτο μέρος. Where *Antoninus* himself did so by an (ἢ διάκειλαι) farther expound himself; or whether it be but a mere *glossema* proceeding from any other, I leave to others to judge.

8. To the tendence of that spirit which is within him.] πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἐνδον ἑαυτοῦ δαίμονι ἔδ, &c. I could not easily find a word either Latin or English, whereby to express this δαίμων, here and elsewhere so often mentioned by *Antoninus*. That by
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that

that word *Antoninus* doth intend a Deity, he himself doth sufficiently clear, not onely where he calls it *θεοποίησιν*, and *ἀποκαταστήσει τὸ θεῖον*, but by other passages, where he plainly says of him that he is a God. But even for these passages sake (besides other reasons) could not I well translate it *God*: for so must I have made him say, not onely that *God* was a divine effluence, and a particle of *God*; but also that *God* was *God*; which would have been too gross and manifest a *rantologie*. The word *Genius* used by *Xylander*, however it might fit in some respects; and as it is used and interpreted by some ancients, comes nearest of any Latin word to *Antoninus* his meaning: yet certain it is, as out of *Apuleius* may appear, that it is against its proper signification that it is so used, and in regard of its more popular and ordinary use, there could not be any other more improper and contrary. For whereas there is nothing more ordinary among the Latins than these phrases, *Genio indulgere*, *genium curare*, *genium defraudare*, and the like, in which manner of speeches the word *Genius* is used as the best and greatest Motive to *Epicurean* mirth and jovialty; *Antoninus* doth always press his *Δαίμων* as the best and greatest motive and obligation to all manner of temperance, sobriety, chastity, modesty, holiness and the like. Some will think perchance that I might have retained the word *Demon*. But seeing even in *Antoninus* his time, and before, that word, by means of the blessed Gospel of Christ, was already become so publickly odious to Latin ears, that *Apuleius* himself, an arrant Heathen, being to write *ὅτι τὸ Σοκράτους Δαίμονος*, (which was *Plutarch's* title)

title) though he maintained the thing that it was not a *God*, but a direct *Damon*, of a nature far different and inferiour to the *Gods*, yet avoided the word as odious, and of purpose (as is well and at large observed by *S. Augustin*, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 8. cap. 14.) intitled his Book, not, *de Damone*, but, *de Deo Socratis*: I should have done *Anton.* great wrong, if I could not have fitted his excellent matter and purpose with a more plausible word. Now for the word *Spirit*, which of all others I have made choice of, some will think, perchance, that I have made too bold with it, to put it, so sacred a word, in a Heathen's mouth so often, and to make it so common a word with him, as it will be found by my Translation. Although I could give a more direct and general answer both for *Antoninus* and my self, if I would take occasion here to fall on that subject: yet for brevities sake, I will content my self to requite that of the Reader, which I think no reasonable man can deny, that to express an Heathen's meaning, I may be allowed words that have been used by Heathens. I think that of *Seneca* no man makes any question, (notwithstanding that ancient report and opinion of many concerning some Epistles that should pass between him and *S. Paul*, which *S. Hierome* and others speak of;) but that he was a Heathen. His words are these, *Epist. 41.* *Propè est à te Deus: tecum est: intus est. Ita dico, Lucili. Sacer intra nos Spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator & custos: hic prout à nobis tractatus est, ita nos ipse tractat. Bonus vir sine Deo nemo est, &c.* Thus much of the word. Now concerning the thing it self, how *Antoninus* came by

this Philosophy (so much by him in these his Books inculcated) of this inward spirit, and so to examine Plato's and other ancients opinion concerning the same, or how near either he or any of them came to the truth, and so to heap together many passages, and to compare them with some like passages in the Scripture; is a thing which I my self have taken much pleasure in, and some others would perchance; but that would require far more scope than this place can afford me, and therefore I let it alone.

9. *With a kind of pity and compassion also*] *ἐστὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ πρὸς ἑλεῖναι, &c.* The Stoicks would not allow *ἑλεῖν*, or *miser cordia*, in a wise man. For they maintained that such a one was in continual joy. Now *ἑλεῖν* they defined to be *Aegritudinem animi ob alienarum miseri arum speciem*, or, *a grief of the mind for other mens supposed miseries*. As therefore the word implied grief and sorrow, they rejected it. But as for the effects of it, as *clemency*, *goodness*, and whatsoever it is that true compassion in the highest degree, for the relief and comfort of any distressed, would prompt a man unto, that they thought themselves bound unto as much as any, and proposed it (so they professed) as the main scope of their lives and actions. *Seneca* is very large upon this subject. The truth is, they would not have men to be men, but mere Gods. And whiles they thus went about to elevate this virtue, the crown of all virtues, to a higher pitch of divine purity and simplicity than humane nature was capable of; and to abstract from it, as it were, all that was human and fleshly; I fear they made many, who were

were not so capable of their distinctions and subtilties (such as you shall find in *Seneca* upon this subject) the less to regard that which nature otherwise, and to good purpose, had made them more capable of. Certain it is and by them confessed, that for this very thing, they commonly and their profession had a very hard report. This may be the occasion that *Antoninus* takes occasion to mention so often, and to commend τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, which if it be not the same, yet comes next to ἐλευθερίαν. Yet such respect did he bear unto the *Stoicks*, that he would not, we see here, use that word by them condemned without some qualification; not ἐλευθερίαν barely, but τρέπεν πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν.

10. *That man can part with no life properly, save that little*] ὅτι ἐστὶς ἄλλον ἀποβάλλει βίον, ἢ ὅτεον ὄν ζῇ, ἐστὶ ἄλλον ζῇ, ἢ ὅν ἀποβάλλει. Xyl. *Tamen recordandum tibi est, neminem aliam ab ea quam vivit vitam deponere, neque aliam deponere quam eam quam vivit*: so shall you find it in both the Editions.

11. *For those things are plain and apparent which*] ὅτι πάντα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸ Κωικὸν Μόνιμον λεγόμενα, δηλονότι καὶ τὸ χρησίμον, &c. Spoken unto *Monimus*, you must understand, by way of Dialogue, [and philosophical conference; by persons introduced, and made to speak by *Monimus* himself. For that *Monimus* himself and no other must be conceived to be the Authour of those Writings both sweet and profitable, upon which *Anton.* doth here pass his judgment, may be gathered by what *Laertius* doth relate of him, whose words are, ὅτι καὶ ἐμπεριθέσθαι ἐγένετο, ὥστε δόξεν καὶ καταφρονεῖν, πρὸς τὸ ἀληθεῖαν παρασχεῖν· γάρφαρε δὲ πάρινα σπουδῇ λεληθῆα μεμνημένος.

μῖρα, &c. He was (saith he) marvellous, grave and serious; as in matter of honour and credit altogether careless, so after Truth very hot and vehement. He did write some merry Pleasant Books, mixed with hidden and profitable seriousness. That therefore of Monimus his own Writings Antoninus is to be understood, I think is apparent: but because what was the form of these Writings, whether they were Dialogues or otherwise, is not certain, and that Laertius saith nothing of it; I could be well content that τὰ πρὸς Κυνικὸν Μόνιμον λεγόμενα were more generally translated, those things that are spoken of in the Writings of Monimus the Cynick, if the Greek would allow it; which I much doubt of, though πρὸς for apud I know is ordinary.

And thus have I now, for reasons mentioned in the Preface, gone over the two first Books, not omitting wittingly any place that required either light or cure. And because I presume the Reader by this to be fully satisfied both concerning my course that I have held in the translating of this Book, and that it needed a new translation: I will spare my self the labour to proceed farther in the same kind; some few places, here and there, (which would by no means be omitted) excepted. And to this end I will take all that remains together.

Curso

Cursory Notes and Illustrations

U P O N

The X. Books that remain.

B. IV. n. XXXIX. *Helice, Pompeii, Herculanium*] Concerning *Helice*, that may suffice that *Xylander* hath in his Notes. Of the sudden ruine of the famous Town *Pompeii* by an Earthquake, you may read in *Tacitus*, Ann. XV. *Seneca* Nat. Quæst. lib. 6. cap. 1. *Tertullian* in his *Apologetic*. and elsewhere. *Herculanum* was very near *Pompeii*, as by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Pomp. Mela*, and others doth appear; by which neighbourhood it may be conceived that when the one did perish, the other could not but suffer. And though otherwise of the ruine of it I find not much in any other Ancient besides *Antoninus*, yet as much as I said *Seneca* saith in the same place, where he speaks of *Pompeii*; *Nam & Herculaneensis oppidi pars ruit, ubique stant etiam que relictæ sunt.* *Xylander* in his Notes upon this place refers us to another place of *Anton.* B. VIII. n. XXIX. where he by his Translation makes *Antoninus* to mention the same *Pompeii* again. But there the words bearing either *Pompeiorum gens*, as *Xyl.* in his first Edition had rendred it; or *urbs Pompeii*, as it is in his second: though I condemn not this latter, yet I have rather followed that former interpretation, for reasons which upon a better opportunity I shall give more at large.

Ibid.

Ibid. *That which but the other day was vile snivel*] The whole passage in the Greek (as it is printed) runs thus, τὸ δὲ ὅλα καπεθεῖν αἰεὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὡς ἡφίμερα καὶ εὐπλή, καὶ ἐχθὲς μὲν μυζᾶριον, αὐριον δὲ τέρχον ἢ τέρεα, &c. The latter words (for the former he slips quite over) are thus translated by *Xylander*, *Bas. Edit.* 214. & quod heri fuit piscis, cras erit salsamentum, aut cinis. The Greek words, as they are printed, are not without fault; but the fault is neither great, nor hard to be discovered. In stead of τὸ δὲ ὅλα, it must be corrected, τὸ δὲ ὅλον. a phrase to this purpose often used by *Antoninus*; τὸ σύνπαν, τὸ σύνολον, and the like; which all signifie one thing. Now for μυζᾶριον, which by *Xylander* is translated *Piscis*; whether the Greek Dictionaries deceived him, or he them, I know not: but sure I am, that both he and they are much deceived, and that μυζᾶριον here, is a mere diminutive of μύξα, as it signifieth *mucus* or *mucor*; used again in the same sense (and there well translated by *Xylander*) by *Antoninus* himself in another passage of these his Books. They that are any thing versed in the Writings of Greek Stoicks, cannot but know, that it is their ordinary style to speak of all worldly things (the more emphatically to express their vileness and contemptible baseness) by *Diminutives*: to that end taking usually that liberty to themselves, as to coin new ones, where they find none ready coined to their hands. For examples whereof I need to send you no farther than to this our *Antoninus* in very many places of these his Books. The ground, as it seems by him, of *Xyl.* mistake, was by the word τέρχον here;

here; which because in its more ordinary signification it signifies *salsamentum*, and *salsamentum* is most proper of Fishes; he concluded that *μῦς* must needs be a *Fish*, and thus, by a translation rather of substances than of words, (which we might more properly call a Metamorphosis) of a *man* he hath made a *fish*; and so hath it continued hitherto in all Greek Dictionaries that I have seen. As for the word *πέρχθ*, that *Antoninus* may not be thought either the first, or one, that ever used it in this sense; I will produce but one passage out of *Lucian*, which I think will abundantly doe the deed. He therefore in his Discourse *de Luctu*, towards the end, treating of the several sorts of Burial used by sundry Nations, hath these words; ὁ δὲ βαλὼν (saith he) ἐκγόρεν ὁ δὲ Πέρχθς ἐδαψεν ὁ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ ὑδαὶν σκυρίην ὁ δὲ Σκῦθης κατιδίη· πέρχθς δὲ Ἀἰγύπτῳ. The Grecian did burn; the Persian bury; The Indian doth anoint with Swines grease; (the word in *Lucian* is ὑδαίω, which must needs signifie either *Swines dung*, or, as *Erasmus* doth render it, *adipem suillum*: but some learned men there be, who correct it, *μύελω*, *medullâ*.) the Scythian eat; and the Egyptian powder or embalm. When *Anton.* then saith, (either an embalmed carcase or ashes,) he doth allude to the custome of his days among the Romans, which was either to bury (the bodies of the richer sort being first embalmed,) or to burn: though indeed the latter, through the increase of Christians, began soon after *Anton.* his time to grow much out of use every where. Now they that burned, used to gather the relicks of the dead corpse, consisting of bones and ashes, and to lay them up in *Urns, Ollis, Ossuariis*;

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in Pots, Urns, Crocks, and the like earthen vessels made of purpose; and so to bury them. I would not note it (I must confess,) as a thing that I thought worth noting, (for I think there can be nothing more common:) but that I am glad to take this occasion to impart unto the Reader a memorable curiosity in matter of antiquity, which by the learned Antiquaries beyond the Seas, I am sure, would be much esteemed. Some two or three miles beyond *Sittingborn* in *Kent*; West, as you go to *London*, there is a little Village in the way called *Newington*. It hath not been my luck hitherto, in any either later Book or ancient Record, to find any thing concerning this Village worth the noting. All that I can say of it, is, that the inhabitants shew a place, to which they say that in former times the water came, as indeed by many circumstances it is very probable: and that *Milton* (a Town before the Conquest of great fame, and of very great antiquity) is not above two miles from it. About a quarter of a mile before you come to *Newington*, not much above a stone's cast from the high way, on the right hand as you come from *Sittingborn*, there is a field, out of which, in a very little compass of ground, have been taken out by digging within these few years *Roman Pots and Urns*, almost of all sizes and fashions, and in number very many: some thousands, I have been told upon the place; but many hundreds I am sure I may say, and speak within compass. And though so many have already been found and carried away, yet doth the field afford them still (as I am told) plentifully enough now and then, according as you prove either skill-
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full or lucky in the digging. The figures of some of them I have here caused to be represented to the Reader.

The first and greatest, with an Inscription graven and cut in about the neck of it, *SEVERIANUS*, &c. was above a year ago by the pious and ingenious Vicar of that Parish; Mr. Henry Deering, bestowed upon me, which I keep as a great Treasure: as also was the last not long after, with the cover of it over it, so severally represented of purpose, that the form of either might the better appear. The words of the Inscription of that first (as near as they could be imitated) are these:

SEVERIANVS·PATER·D·
OLA·I·OW·V·EE·K·I·X

In the writing of which words although something may be observed not ordinary, as *Ola*, for *ola*; and those kind of *A*. and *L*. &c. yet is here nothing so singular, but a learned Antiquary, well versed in *Gruter's Thesaurus* of Inscriptions, will soon find Examples of it. As for the sense and meaning of the words, though not so obvious and chance as might be wished, yet must I (because the words will not serve) suspend my opinion till some fitter opportunity. That in the middle, with the Inscription *COCILLIM*, was by the means

means of a worthy friend, M. Dr. *Winston*, (that great ornament of his Profession,) procured unto me from the Right Honourable (for his worth and love to learning as well as by his place) *Richard*, Earl of *Portland*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, &c. whom, with some other rare Antiquities, it was sent unto some years ago. I was desirous to compare these that I had (for the Inscriptions sake especially) with some others of the same kind. But I find this difference, that whereas mine were much perished and worn by age, such was the brightness and smoothness of this middle, (of the cover of it I mean, which is of a red-coloured earth) as that it rather resembled pure Coral than ordinary red earth: and as for the Letters of the Inscription, that they were not, as mine, rudely graven in with the hand, but in the same mould, and at the same time when the cover it self was formed, very artificially printed, or imbossed rather: as by these figures that are represented you may in part perceive. Since that, when I passed last by *Newington* coming from *London*, among many other fragments of Antiquity, in Mr. *Dearing's* garden, I found the pieces of just such another Cover (but that the colour of it is nothing so fresh) with this Inscription in the middle likewise, *PRISCIANA*. Now as the multitude of these *Newington* Urnes (for I do not remember that ever so many in so narrow a compass of ground were found:) is observable; so is the manner of their lying in the ground. They that have been present often at their digging up, have observed, that where one great Urn is found, divers less vessels are; some within

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within the great, some about it: all covered either with a proper cover of the same earth and making as the pot it self is; or more coarsely, but very closely stopped up with other earth. Of all those small vessels of what fashion soever that are found either in or about these Urns, I know no other use (to satisfie in some part their curiosity that wonder at them when they see them) that was ordinary among the Romans, but either to contain some fragrant odoriferous liquour and durable confection; or that *libatio* of wine and milk that they used about their dead: or lastly (not to speak here of those burning lamps that have been found in some ancient Urns and Monuments, which so many have largely written and disputed of) to receive and preserve the tears that were shed by the friends of the deceased for grief of their dead. As for the difference of the greater and the lesser Urns, *Fabricius* in his *Roma*, and *Marlianus* in his topographycal description of the same, are of opinion, that when Urns of different bigness are found in the same place, the greater were for the greater and richer, as the Masters and *Patroni*; and the lesser, for the poorer and inferiour, as the servants, and *clientes*. In things of this nature, which were, I mean, altogether arbitrary, there is no question but different fashions were used in different places: yea, and likely in the same place, as every man's particular conceit or humour served him. And therefore it were hard to determine any thing as certainly and generally true. But as for these *N.* Urns, this seems to have been the custome there used. One great Urn was appointed to contain the bones and ashes of all

one, either household or kindred. As often therefore as any of them died, so often had they recourse unto the common Urn, which so often was uncovered. To prevent this, I find that the fashion hath been in some places, to let in the ashes through some holes made and fitted for that purpose. See *Gruter*, fol. 814. Now besides the great and common Urn, it is likely that every particular person that died had some less Urn or Vessel, particularly dedicated to his own memory; whereby both the number of the deceased, and the parties themselves might the better be remembred. There might be also another use of these lesser Pots, in my judgment very necessary, and that is, that by them the common great Urns might the better be known and discerned one from another; which being so near, in so small a compass of ground, and not much unlike one another, might otherwise easily be mistaken. And this is the more likely, because of those many hundreds that have been taken up of the lesser sort, scarce have there been found any of one and the same making. I hear not of any thing that hath hitherto been found in these *Newington* Urns besides bones and ashes; and sometimes clear water. And so do I read of Urns or Earthen vessels *plenis limpidissimâ aquâ*, that have been found elsewhere, as that which is mentioned in *Gruterus*, fol. 927. I doubt not but many would be glad (as well as I) to know certainly what this place hath formerly been. But alas! how should we (*who are of yesterday, and know nothing*) without the help of ancient Records, recall the memory of things forgotten so many 100 years ago? Thus much

much we may certainly enough conclude : First, from the multitude of these Urns, that it was once a common-burying place for the Romans. Secondly, from the History of the Romans in this land, that no Urn is there found, but is 1200 or 1300 years old, at the least : so many ages of men have these poor earthen vessels (of so much better clay for durance than humane bodies are,) outlasted both the makers of them, and the persons to whose memory they were consecrated. Lastly, from the place, which is upon an ascent (and for a good way beyond, hilly,) not far from the Sea, and near the high way ; we may affirm in all probability, that it was once the seat of a Roman station. If any man can teach me more of it, I shall heartily thank him. Since this was written, I made another journey to the place, and spent some time there in digging, but with no success. However, that I might not return home empty, the same Mr. *Dearing* gave me a piece of Urn, which hath this inscription, FVL. LINUS.

B. V. n. XII. *But as for those which by the vulgar are esteemed good*] Euripides in one of his Tragedies had made one of the Actors to commend money upon the Stage in a transcendent manner, styling it, among other things, *ἡ ἀρίστη δῶρεα βροτοῖς*, *ingens generis humani bonum*, (as the words are translated by Seneca) *the best gift* Sen. 119.
Epist. *of the Gods unto men ; the principal good or happiness of mankind.* At which and other like words the people took great offence, (I pray God there be no worse people among Christians) insomuch that they rose up together with great indignation,

ready to thrust both the Actour and the Authour of such wicked lines off the stage: which they had done accordingly, had not *Euripides* himself presently stepped in, and gently desired them, that they would have patience but a-while, to see what would be the end of this great admirer of gold and silver. To some such history or passage of ancient Poet, it must needs be that *Antoninus* doth here allude. In the next words also, it is as certain that he doth allude to some passage or other of ancient Comedy, where the Poet did scurrilously scoff at that paradox of the Stoicks, (so frequent in all their writings) That a wise man, though otherwise he was such an one as was ready to starve for want of food and cloathing, yet was even then the onely rich man of the world; and that all others, if unwise, though never so great in the world, were mere beggars. It doth much savour of *Aristophanes* his scurrilous wit. And indeed I remember that my Father in the Margin of his *Anton.* (which is now in our King's most Royal Library) had written right over this place *Locus Aristoph.* though I must confess, where to find it in *Aristophanes* I know not, nor have indeed at this time the leisure to seek it. But this is the way, and the onely way, to understand obscure places in this book: they that impute the obscurity of many such places to the translation, will be much deceived, I fear, when they come to reade the Greek. I remember a place of *Aristophanes* his *Plutus*, somewhat near this in sense, and may perchance give some light to it. There industrious *Poverty* pleading for her self very philosophically, and commending her condition, for that as she had no over-

Aristoph.
Plut. Act. 2.
Scen. 5.

over-plus, neither did she want, (*σενιναδς μινδεν, μινδ' ἐπλείπειν*.) Great happiness indeed, replies Chremylus, for a man to spare and labour all his life long, and when he dyes, not to leave so much after him as will bury him! playing merrily upon the ambiguity of the word *ἐπλείπειν*, which the Latin will not fitly express.

Ibid. n. XXI. *To live with the Gods*] *Συζῆν θεοῖς*. Thus it is in many places in the *infinitive*, not *imperative*. In many of these places I have rendered it (according to the Greek idiotism) by the *imperative*; as B. VI. n. 18. B. VII. n. 31, &c. In some I have of purpose retained the *infinitive*, because I conceived them rather hints and heads of meditations, collected out of several Authours by Antoninus, and compendiously thus by him entered into this his Book of *Memorandums*, (in which case I think the *infinitive*, as well in the English as in the Greek, is more proper) than precepts, or sayings of his own. That it is so in many I could easily shew, if I were to write a Comment upon the Book.

Ibid. num. XXIII. *Where there shall neither roarer be nor harlot*] *ἔτε τραγῳδός, ἔτε πόρνῃ*. I take these words to have been used proverbially by Philosophers, for a place free from all worldly trouble, molestation and distraction: in the same sense as that other Proverb, often used by Tully, *Ubi nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta*; as where the faith, *Quin hinc ipse avolare cupio, & aliqua pervenire, ubi nec Pelopidarum nomen nec facta audiam*,

Epist. ad Fam. lib. VII. epist. 30. The word *παραδειν*, I am sure, is by *Antoninus* in divers places, and by other Philosophers often used, as a proper word to express the troubles, vexations and confusions of a worldly man's life: and as for *πόρνη*, that it is not improper for his purpose, may appear (not to alledge n. IX. of this very Book, where it is upon another occasion) from *Crates* his description of a Philosophical city; from which excluding all cares and tumultuousness, all violence, vice and wickedness, he hath among other things these words,

Εἰς ᾧ ὅτε τις εἰσπολεῖ ἀνὴρ μαρτυροῦντος παρὰ τοῖς,
Οὐτε λίγος πόρνης ἐπαγαλλόμενος πύγην, &c.

To which Verses haply this passage of *Ant.* might have some reference. Against this Proverb, or common saying used in the commendation of a retired and sequestred life, *Anton.* doth here reason and argue, as he doth elsewhere in many places: maintaining that there is no such necessity of avoiding mens company, to enjoy rest and tranquillity. See in the Table, *Solitariness*.

Ibid. n. XXIX. For, alas! what is all this solemn decl.] It is printed ἐπεὶ τοὶ γινῆ καλῶν ὅτι τῶν ἐμβόλων which I did at first understand more generally (and therefore had made a section of it a part) *de forensibus negotiis*. Of which (those excepted which are for the maintenance of peace and justice among men) that of Saint *Augustine* in his *Confessions* is for the most part most true: *Majorum nugæ, negotia vocantur; puerorum autem talia cùm sint, panniuntur à majoribus, &c.* But now

now that I have better considered of the place, I find a very plausible coherence of the words with the former; if we understand them more particularly of those funeral speeches and orations in commendation of the dead, usually performed among the Romans (in a place called the *Rostra*) with such solemnity, that *Polybius*, a very wise and grave Historian, attributes those many rare examples of valour and vertue among them, to this custome as much as to any thing. From whence by the way, I would have these words of *Antoninus*, Book IV. n. 16. receive some light, viz. — but even to thee living what is thy praise? but onely for a secret and politick consideration, which we call, *οἰκονομία*, &c. For that indeed is it which the Greek Philosophers properly call *οἰκονομία*, as hereafter perchance we may have occasion to shew more at large. That being ended, saith *Polybius*, the dead, *καὶ λοιπὸν κόσμῳ*, with the rest of the funeral pomp and preparations, is carried *πρὸς τὸν καλεσμένον ἐμβόλῳ*, to the place by them called *μβολοί*, or *Rostra*, &c. and some lines after: Then doth his son, if he have left any, or some one or other of his kin, *ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμβόλῳ*, commemorate his vertues, and relate at large what brave things he did in his life, (if he did any,) and that so pathetically, that what properly is but the private loss of one, becomes by this means the publick grief and sorrow of all that are present. This then is that whereof among all Historians so frequent mention is made *pro rostris laudavit*, or *laudari*, which *Anton.* himself very formally according to the customs of his time performed, not onely unto his good Father *Antoninus* surnamed the *Religious*,

(as *Pausanias* doth interpret the word,) an Emperour, indeed for his goodness, clemency, prudence and other good parts, inferiour unto none but this his incomparable Son; but also to *Faustina* his wife, though none of the best,

B. VI. n. XXXVII. *As that vile and ridiculous verse*] *Chrysippus* his own words and *Plutarch's* censure upon them you may reade in *Plutarch* *περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐργοῶν* whereby it appears that *Chrysippus* his word was not *σιχῶ γλοιῶ*, as we have it here, but *ἐπιγρυμνα γλοιῶν*.

B. VII. n. XXXIX. *Of this mass of flesh that comp.*] It was in former Greek editions, *περιτραμμένον* which would import, *pampered*, but that *περιβρέδαι* is not found in this sense. *Πεπιτραμμένον* therefore (*circumdati*, as *Xyl.* had expressed it in his translation) is the more warrantable reading of the two, (as may farther appear by collation of places, where we find *περιλειμένον* used in the same sense:) and which we have exhibited in our Greek edition,

B. VIII. n. I. *Contrary to that perfection of life*] *ἡ πρόληψις ἢ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ φιλοσόφου* (saith *Epietetus* in *Arrianus*, lib. 4.) *ἢ ἀναμάρτητον*. The profession of a Philosopher is, not to sin: and in the same chapter shall you find, *φιλόσοφος ἀμάρταν*, exploded, as implying a flat contradiction. And now here will I perform what in my Preface I did promise, for the more full and perfect explication of this word *φιλόσοφος*. That the immortality of the soul, and the reward of the

the good and bad after this Life, was never more stoutly maintained by any of all the Heathens, than by *Plato*, is full well known and acknowledged by all. But it is objected, that this sound and true Tenet he by many odd fictions of his own, and ridiculous descriptions of the torments of the wicked after this Life, hath much corrupted and adulterated: One thing especially, though by more objected against him, yet by one Greek Father, specially is much exaggerated; that in a place where he treateth of the reward of the just and unjust after this life, he should there propose unto his *Philosophers* as their best reward for their justice and piety, the *metempsychosis* and transmutation of their souls into Bees and Ants and such like: a thing so strange and ridiculous even to conceive, that I cannot but wonder how they that could believe any such thing of *Plato*, could in other places find in their hearts so highly to extoll, and so absolutely to prefer him before all other Philosophers that ever were. But as for his many relations and strange descriptions both of the manner and place of torments after this life, I will not take upon me to excuse him. Onely this I will say, that he professing in so many places, that what he related in this kind, he neither believed himself, nor required of any that they should believe; and that he was well content, that such relations as these should go for old womens tales, for that in very deed they were no better; and that all that he stood upon, was, That men might certainly be persuaded that the soul was immortal, and that there was a reward for the just after this life, but as for the rest, whether these very things or somewhat equi-

Theodor.
Serm. XI.
Plat. in
Phæd.

Supplem.
3. part.
q. 97. Art. 6

equivalent were believed, untill they had more certain information was to him indifferent: I do not see, what could well be expected more from an Heathen. And he that shall compare those many descriptions of Hell and Purgatory, which are to be found in Books written many hundred years ago, with his, will certainly judge, that either *Plato* was not much amiss, or that many Christians have deserved far more blame than he. And I farther think that *Plato* might in this case with as much reason, to maintain among the vulgar an opinion of the immortality of the soul, and of a judgment after this life, make use of old womens tales; as the Angelical Doctour against some Fathers, who affirm the contrary, doth take upon him to maintain, that *ignis inferni ejusdem est speciei cum igne nostro*, because *Aristotle* hath written, that *omnis aqua omni aqua est idem specie*. And as for that which *Plato* writes concerning the transformation of worldly carnal mens souls, according to *Pythagoras* doctrine; it is true, that *Pythagoras* and his opinions being in great esteem among the people, *Plato* not knowing himself what certainly to affirm of the manner of their punishment after their death, was very indifferent, whether this or that were believed, so somewhat were believed; and therefore proposes sometimes one opinion, sometimes another. But as for the reward of the just and godly, it is an intolerable mistake. For in that very place which is alledged, he plainly says that the true Philosophers after their death *εἰς θεῶν κοινωνίαν τε καὶ συνουσίαν*, are received into the communion and society of the Gods, and are transformed into their very na-
tures.

tures. And though it cannot be doubted who they are that *Plato* calls Philosophers, they being so often and so amply described by him; yet to make the case clearer, I will produce his description of them in that very place: οἱ ὁρθῶς φιλόσοφοι ἀπέχονται τῶν κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀπαντῶν καὶ κατεργασίῃ, καὶ ἐπαρξάμενοι αὐτὰς αὐτές. ὅτε οἱ κορορίαν τε καὶ πένιαν φοβέμενοι, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ φιλοχρήματοι. ἔστι δὲ ἀνὰ πνίαν τε καὶ ἀδελφίαν μοχθηρίας διδόντες, ὥσπερ οἱ φίλαρκοί τε καὶ φιλόπμοι, ἔπειτα ἀπέχονται αὐτῶν, &c. *All true Philosophers abstain from all carnal lusts and concupiscences, &c. They fear not the ruine of their goods and houses, nor poverty, as other ordinary men, and such as are addicted to wealth and riches: they fear not the reproach and dishonour of a private idle life, as they that hunt after honour and glory; for they purposely avoid all such things, &c.* The ground (and yet no ground at all, had he been but looked upon,) of the mistake, (as appears by them who have objected this unto him) is, that *Plato* setting down the several transformations of worldly men, according to their several dispositions and employments during their life, saith that οἱ τινὲς δημοτικῶν τε καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπιτείνουσθαι, ὡς ἡ γὰρ ἑλῶσα σωφροσύνη τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη ——— εἰς τοῦτον πάλιν ἀφικνύεται πολιτικὴν καὶ ἡμερον γένεσθαι, ἢ περ μελιτῶν, ἢ σφηκῶν, ἢ μυρμίκων, &c. by which words of οἱ τινὲς δημοτικῶν τε πολιτ. &c. he was mistaken, as though he had meant them whom he usually calls *Philosophers*, which in many respects was a very gross mistake. For, first, as was said in the Preface, it was not the love or exercise of vertue alone that made a *Philosopher*, as they meant it; but the love: of

of vertue *μετ' ἀναφορῆς* and so distinguished them from politick worldly men, who (not to speak of the vain-glorious,) often exercise justice and many other vertues, not out of any love to them, but because, as the times are, it may be most advantageous for them to shew themselves in their actions just and righteous. And from the *Epicureans*, who though they acknowledged not a divine providence, nor the immortality of the soul, and proposed unto themselves Pleasure as the onely end of their lives; yet maintained (most of them) that they that were *φιλήδονοι*, or, *lovers of pleasure*, must of necessity be *φιλοδίκαιοι*, or, *lovers of justice*; and that *ἀνδ' ἀρετῆς*, or, *without vertue*, it was not possible for a man to live in true pleasure. And certain it is that the *Epicureans* have written as many excellent books to exhort men to vertue, and, for the most part, in the sight of the world lived as well as any of any other Sect: so that as it was said of the *Stoicks* (for they were most of them notable hypocrites) that they did *λέγειν τὰ καλὰ, ἢ ποιεῖν τὰ αἰχρὰ*, of the *Epicureans* it was said, that they did *συγμιλλοῦν τὰ αἰχρὰ, ἢ ποιεῖν τὰ καλὰ*. Then it was farther to be observed, that *Plato* doth not say *δικαιοσύνην* absolutely, but, *κατὰ δίκην* *δικαιοσύνην*. nor *ἀρετὴν* absolutely, but, *πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν*. by which words he cannot be understood to mean others, than those whom in other places he calls *πολιτικοί*, men that interested themselves in publick affairs and in the government of the commonwealth; of which kind of men he in many places, (as things then stood) maintained that they could not possibly be *Philosophers*: though otherwise (as all know) those *Commonwealths* he pro-

pronounced most happy, which were governed by them that were. But that which plainly puts all out of doubt, and makes the mistake in a manner inexcusable, is, that *Plato* after these words, presently adds ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ νῦν and in the words immediately following, sets down those that he calls *Philosophers*, as men of a quite different Sect and Profession; which they that object this place unto him confound with the former: and not they onely, but (which is very strange, and in some sort doth acquit those ancient Christians.) Heathens also, even the most learned; as *Alcinous* in his excellent Introduction to *Plato's* Philosophy, cap. 27. I think the Book it self will justifie me, that I do the Authour of it no wrong, for making him a Heathen when he wrote it, whatsoever he became afterwards. For otherwise I am not ignorant, that some have made of this *Alcinous*, not a Christian onely, but a Bishop.

I am glad I have had occasion here in this subject to do *Plato* some right; a man, if ever Heathen was, (as *Plutarch* somewhere of *Socrates*) εἰς ἀρετὴν διολέησεν and I shall (when occasion serves) as gladly doe it in many others, wherein he is as wrongfully mistaken. However, that which hath now made me the more willing to say so much in his defence is, partly that our *Anton.* might the better be understood, as often as he useth these words *Philosophy* and *Philosophers*; and, partly that some passages of his, otherwise obscure, compared with this of *Plato*, with that which hath been said upon it, might be made plain and easie. See B. III. n. 17. B. VII. n. 37. B. IX. n. 28, &c. Neither will this interpretation of these words *Philosopher* and

and *Philosophy*, onely be usefull in the reading of this *Antoninus* and other Heathens; but of ancient Fathers also, by whom they have been used in the same sense; but especially by Saint *Chrysostom*: as where he saith, that τὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπιτελεῖν ὡς τὴν τῆ Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν, that a man is bound to a great deal more *Philosophy* since *Christ*, than they were under the Law; that the *Philosophy* of the Gospel is most perfect: and many such other speeches, which he useth almost in every page.

Ibid. n. XXXV. *What? are either Pantheas*] μὴν ἔδν παρὰ τὴν τῆ τοῦ κρείττονος Πάνθεα, &c. The story of *Pantheas* you have at large in *Xenophon*, where, if you reade it, it will easily appear, that either *Antoninus* his memory did here somewhat fail him, or that there is somewhat amiss in the Greek Copy. For κρείττονος a learned man had corrected Κῆρος: but that is as far or farther from the truth of the storie. You may for variety sake, if you please, reade the same storie in *Philostratus* also the Sophist.

B. X. n. X. *And applaud themselves for their valiant acts against the Sarmatæ*] Great was the glory of these wars, equalled by good Historians to the greatest conquests of the Romans. *Bellum quantum nulla unquam memoria fuit*, say some of them. And by the same Historians is all the honour and glory of these wars, next unto God, (whose providence in some particular passages of this expedition is acknowledged both by Heathens and Christians, to have been very extraordinary, and indeed miraculous, (See Note II. upon

upon B. I.) ascribed to *Antoninus* his great valour and wisdom; who himself was present in person all the while for many years together. Yet so little did *Antoninus* take upon himself of all that he had deserved, that as by the Heathens he is often styled *verecundus Imperator*, so by *Orosius* the Spanish Priest, and Historiographer, who lived in Saint *Augustine's* days, for this very reason he is called *gravissimus & modestissimus Imperator*.

B. X. n. XXXVII. *What then should any man desire, &c. Nevertheless,*] Did ever a more meek soul concur with so valiant and courageous a disposition? But these, perchance, were but his intentions; perchance, not so much as intentions, but bare speculative Meditations. If that be true which Historians of best account relate concerning his son *Commodus*, that he hastened his Father's death, &c. it will appear, that as he proved a true Prophet in regard of others, so in regard of himself he approved himself in his death as true and profitable a Teacher; yea, that his practice in this very particular rather went beyond his vows and meditations, than came short of them.

B. XI. n. III. *Violently and passionately set up an opposition, as Christians are wont,*] G. μὴ κατὰ ψαλὴν παραταξέιν, ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως, καὶ σπουδῶς, &c. It was an error of the Stoicks (forsaking herein the more sound doctrine of ancients Philosophers, as *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and others,) that in some cases it was not onely lawfull, but also laudable, for a man to make himself away.
I do

I do not find that our *Antoninus* doth any where absolutely and directly oppose this error; but this I find, and any man may observe that shall read him, that in many places he doth restrain the case with such limitations and restrictions, as might seem in some manner equivalent to a plain and direct opposition. However, I speak not this to excuse him, but that it shall be free for me or any man to judge him or his opinions, as they shall see occasion. The reason that moves me to take here more particular notice of his opinion in this point, than I do in many others of no less moment, is, partly, because *Antoninus*, though he often toucheth upon it, yet every where he doth it so briefly and obscurely, that his main drift and intention, I fear, will not so easily be discovered by many: and, partly, because I shall at once both remove from *Antoninus* the crime and imputation of being the Authour of a most heinous and foul slander concerning the Christians, and vindicate those primitive godly Christians innocency from the malice or ignorance of Heathenish tongues. *Antoninus* then, you must know, was of opinion that they were much to blame, who either *passionately* or *inconsiderately* (for to these two we may refer all his other exceptions by him inculcated in divers places:) did at any time part with their lives; and instead of these requireth and presseth often these two, *rationaly*, and *calmly*, or *meekly*. For the first, Τὸ τοῦ
ἐν χρῆστι ἀνδραπνέν ὅτι λελογισμένον, μὴ ὁλοκαυτῶς μὴ
ὡσπῶς μὴδὲ ὑποφθάνως πρὸς τὸ θάνατον ἔχειν, &c.
It is the part of a wise man, &c. B. IX. n. III.
μὴ καταφρονῶν, not contemptibly, or scornfully;

μηδ' ὀργισθῆναι, not angrily, or passionately, saith he
 elsewhere to the same purpose, and inculcates the
 word ἡσυχας, calmly, and meekly, so often, that were
 it not so good a word as it is, hardly would any
 man have the patience to read it so often as he
 repeats it. But much more shall we be induced
 to bear with *Antoninus* his many repetitions in this
 kind, if we farther consider, that all that he did
 aim at by all these words, was merely to take
 down the pride and haughty spirit of the com-
 mon Stoicks of his days, and before. Many of
 whom both by their own practice, and by their
 doctrine and exhortations, did teach a man gene-
 rally upon all occasions, but in matter of Death
 especially, rather to be desperately stout and reso-
 lute, than rationally and really wise: which
 made *Antoninus* in almost all his exhortations and
 instructions so carefully to inculcate *humility* and
 a meek spirit. Δὲς ὁ θελεις, ἀπολαβε ὁ θελεις, τῇ πάντῃ
 διδόνῃ καὶ ἀπολαμβάνουσιν εὐσεβὶς ὁ πεπαιδευμένῳ καὶ αἰ-
 δήμων λέγει· λέγει δ' ὅτι οὐ κατὰ δρασιν, ἀλλὰ
 μετὰ δειλῶν μόνον καὶ εὐνοῶν αὐτῇ. Give what thou
 wilt, and take away what thou wilt, &c. Book X.
 num. XVI. They that are any thing acquainted
 with *Seneca's* style and genius of writing, will
 easily make a Comment upon this. But not to
 go from this very subject of death that we are
 now upon, how does he set out his *Cato*, his
 great and almost onely pattern of wisdom?
 Jam (saith he) non tantum Cæsari, sed sibi iratus,
 nudas in vulnus manus egit, & generosum illum con-
 temptoremque omnis potentia spiritum non emisit, sed
 eiecit, &c. Epist. 24. Is this to dye like a Philo-
 sopher or a wise man, or rather like a desperate
 wretch?

wretch? If any man shall answer for *Sen.* that he wrote this as an Oratour rather than a Philosopher; I grant indeed that it was wit that he affected more than sound wisdom, (in this and many such passages, I mean:) but yet it is in the person of a Philosopher that he speaks it; and whether it were a good Oratour's part to adscribe such a passionate (that I say not desperate) and discontented end to such a perfect wise man as he would have *Cato* reputed, I leave to others to judge.

The other main condition that *Antoninus* doth generally stand upon (as hath been said) is, *rationality*, or, *not inconsiderately*. A man may undervalue life as well as overprize it. It was *Aristotle's* opinion, that a man ὅσοις ἂν μᾶλλον τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχει πᾶσι, the more vertuous he is, and the better furnished with all manner of rare perfecti-
 ons, the more unwilling he must needs be to die. And certainly according to truth and sound Philosophy, for a man to condemn life, and either in a mere bravado (as many Duellists and contentious persons often do,) to cast it away, or otherwise easily and slightly, upon no ground of sound reason and good ratiocination, to part with it, must needs be the highest degree of madness and mere brutishness that can be conceived. As on the other side, ὅταν ἐν λόγῳ (as *Epictetus* upon this occasion speaketh,) *cum exigit ratio*, or, *cum ratio suadet*, (as *Seneca* in his Epistles,) when apparent reason doth induce us for some greater good, (as either for a better life, or for the performance of some duty which in reason ought to be dearer unto us than life,) not to regard it, for a man then, through either fear of death or love
 of

of this world; to linger and to draw back, is great baseness, and greater folly. As for that *Antoninus* doth here alledge the Christians as an example of that frensie that he doth tax and reprove; the ground of it is, the fervent zeal of the primitive Christians, whose love to Christ was such, that they not onely were content to suffer for him, when they were called to it, but even so longed to die for him, that they could hardly by the Church-canons and discipline provided in that behalf be restrained from offering themselves to death, and being their own accusers and promoters. In-
 somuch that in *Africa* at a certain time when they flocked by multitudes to the Inquisitours or Judges, the Governour of that Province amazed, cried out, *O wretched creatures! if you must needs die, have you no halters or precipices at home?* as is recorded by *Tertull.* *ad Scap.* last Chapter. And though this course was by the better learned and more sober Prelates inhibited and restrained, yet such was commonly their constancy and their readiness to death, whensoever they were apprehended and condemned by their persecutours, yea their joy and exultation such, (*Deo gratias*, or, *God be praised*, was their common and solemn word, when their sentence was read;) that that alone was sufficient to amaze their enemies, and to make them think very strangely of them. Neither indeed were the Christians better known unto the Heathens by any other property than this, that they were a kind of people that did not regard their lives. Before *Antoninus*, *Arrianus* had already mentioned them upon the same occasion. For *l. 4. c. 7. μαρτυροῦντες*, treating of an undaunted disposi-

tion not capable of any fear or terroure, *ποῖον ἔτι
 τῶν πῦρ καὶ ὀβριότης; ἢ πῶς ὀβριότης; ἢ πῶς μέ-
 λους αὐτῶν; εἴτα καὶ μαχίας ἢ δύναται πρὸς τὸν δα-
 ῖον πρὸς τὸν δαῖον, καὶ καὶ ἔστιν ὁ Γαλιλαῖος. καὶ
 λόγος ὅτι καὶ σὺν ἑαυτοῖς ἔστιν δύναται, &c.* To him,
 (saith he) that stands so affected, what Tyrant,
 what officers, what swords can be dreadful? Or shall
 it be so that some through mere madness, others by
 use and custome, as the Galileans, can be brought
 to that pass, that they shall fear nothing; and shall
 not reason and sound ratiocination, &c. I know
 these words are somewhat otherwise interpreted
 by others, who refer both *μαχίας* and *ἔστιν* to
 Christians; but if the whole passage be well con-
 sidered, it will appear otherwise, especially if it
 be compared with Seneca's last words of his
Epist. 36. which are these, *Demque finem faciam si
 hoc unum adjecero, nec infantes, nec pueros, nec memo-
 lapsos timere mortem; & esse turpissimum, si eam se-
 curitatem nobis visio non præstat, ad quam stultitia
 perducit.* which words of Seneca I produce here
 the more willingly, because they may also serve
 to give light to another place of Antoninus,
B. V. n. XVI. if any shall take pains to compare
 them. As for that *Arrianus* calls the Christians
Galileans, he doth but as many others did; as
Lucian by name; (if he be the Authour of
 that Dialogue which goeth under his name:)
 and *Julian* the Apostate, as all men know. This
 readiness then and alacrity of these godly Chri-
 stians to seal their profession with their blood,
 so known and approved every where, was never-
 theless so much mistaken and mis-interpreted, as
 that upon a supposition that it had no ground in
 reason,

reason, (as *Antoninus* you see doth here alledge,) it was commonly termed by the Heathens *pervicacy* and *obstinateness*. *Obstinatio* indeed was the very word. *Illā ipsa obstinatio quam exprobratis*, saith *Tertull.* towards the end of his *Apologeticus*; and *ad Nationes*, lib. 1. cap. 18. *Reliquum Ob-
stinationis in illo capitulo collocatis, quod neque gla-
dios, neque cruces, neque bestias vestras; non ignem,
non tormenta, ob duritatem ac contemptum mortis a-
nimo recusamus, &c.* And before him *Pliny*, in his Epistle *de Christianis* written to *Trajanus* the Emperour, *Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque
esset quod faterentur, pervicaciam certe & inflexibi-
lem obstinationem debere puniri.* *Seneca* also, though not of the Christians particularly, he yet in the same sense doth use the word *obstinatio*, in his 76. Epist. By which passages it doth appear how happily *Xylander*, professing what he doth in his Notes, did hit upon this word in his Translation, than which he could never have found a more fit and proper, had he sought never so long. But some Interpreters of *Tertull.* it seems did not well understand it in his *de Spectac.* first Chap. where he saith, *Sunt qui existiment Chri-
stianum, expeditum morti genus ad hanc Obstinatio-
nem abdicatione voluptatum erudiri, &c.* who note that *Tertull.* doth there use *Obstinatio* in a good sense for *Constantia*; whereas he useth it in no other sense than the Heathens did, that objected it unto them; and it is as from them that he speaks it, as if he said, *ad hanc quam no-
bis objicitis, or, exprobratis, (as elsewhere) ob-
stinationem, &c.* The word *παρρησια* here used by *Anton.* will I think hardly be found in any other

Greek Authour in this sense, a word nevertheless (as all his are) as elegant and proper as may be; importing as much in things civil, as ἀντιστοιχείαις doth in things natural. That which S. Basil doth elegantly call τὴν ἀντολὴν ἀμείβαν, is much to the same purpose. But S. Nazianzen will give us a very full and elegant interpretation of this word, which will also much conduce to the illustration of the matter that hath been spoken of. For in his first *Investive*, treating of the reasons why Julian would not set upon the Christians with open persecution, as former Emperours had done, which meant them not so ill as he did; he makes this to have been the cause of it, because Julian had observed, that the Christians the more they were persecuted, the more resolute and peremptory they did grow. For, as fire, saith he, exposed to a blustering wind, the more it is blown upon, the greater it grows; so is it with generous dispositions, the more they are opposed with force and violence, the more obstinate and peremptory is their resistance. φιλονικίῳ γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς χυθείαι βιάζομενος, καὶ ἀντιδίδειν τῇ τυραννίδι τὴν ἐκ ἐυσυνείας φιλοπρίαν· φιλεῖ γὰρ τὰ χυναῖα φρονήματα πρὸς τὸ βίᾳ κρατῆν αὐθαδικῶς, καὶ κατὰ φλογὶς ἐκπύεσθαι ἐνέμου ῥιπίζομένη, πότερ μᾶλλον ἀντιδίδει, ὅταν ἂν σφοδρότερον καίανένῃαι. Antoninus doth use the words again, (but in the Verb there, as others use it also,) in the same sense, B. VIII. n. XLVI. speaking of the liberty of the will of man, Μίμητο (saith he) ὅτι ἀναταμάχιον γίνεται τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, ὅταν οἷς ἐμὴ συστράτην ἀρετῆς ἐκπύεσθαι μὴ ποιεῖν ὃ μὴ θέλει, καὶ ἀλγῶσι παρατρέχειν, &c. Remember that thy mind, &c. And so doth the same Nazianzen in his second *Investive*,

Invective, speaking of a resolute and courageous Christian Martyr, ἐκ τῆς θυγῆς ἐπένευσεν, (saith he) καὶ τὸ δῆμῳ εἰσὶν ἐκδίδωσι γῆρας ὅ,τι ἐύλοιντο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν καίρῳ παρατάσσεται δυσκολίαν· as one that had entered the list, as it were, to buckle and grapple with the present adversities themselves.

Ibid. n. V. After the Tragedy the Comœdia vetus was brought in] Horace in his *De Arte Poetica*, having immediately before spoken of *Æschylus* the Tragick Poet, *Successit vetus his Comœdia*, saith he, *non sine multa Laude, sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim Dignam lege regi, &c.* They that have read learned *Heinsius* his elaborate Notes upon this place, will easily see what I aim at, by citing this place of *Horace*; and will acknowledge that *Horace* is much beholden to this place of *Antoninus*.

B. XII. n. IX. *Whatsoever doth happen*] τὰ ἐξ ἑστῆς τῆς φύσεως. These words may also be referred to the former paragraph, or number; as in the Latin translation is to be seen. But they fit this place so well too, that it is not easie to determine to which of the two they belong. Such diversities may be observed in other places too; which some, rashly, may deem oversights or repugnancies: but men of better judgement and skill will easily see what hath caused this variety. But in places of greatest difficulty, I must refer the Reader to my Latin Notes.

FINIS.

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